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Edward the 5th King of Englād
and Francē, Lord of Ireland,

f. r



Edward the 5th King of Englād
and Francē, Lord of Ireland,

THE
HISTORIE
OF THE PITIFULL

Life, and unfortunate
Death of

EDWARD *the* V.th

And the then Duke of *Yorke* his
Brother.

With the troublesome and
tyrannicall Government of u-
surping *Richard* the III.
and his miserable end,

WRITTEN
By the Right Honourable,
Sir THOMAS MOORE, some-
times Lord Chancellor of
England.

LONDON,
Printed for *William Sheares*, at
the Bible in *St. Pauls Church-*
yard, 1651:





TO
THE RIGHT WOR-
SHIPFULL SIR IOHN
LENTHALL Knight,
Marshall of the
Kings-bench.

SIR,

I*T is not unknowne
to the World, the
great care, ear-
nest, sedulitie &
laudable custome that hath al-
waies been observed in all ages
for the preservation of anti-
quities; by meanes wherof, the
acts and occurrences of former
times are so clearely demon-
strated, as if they were mani-
fested*

The Epistle

fested to the world by a perfect and lively representation; which affordeth in it selfe a double profit, doth thereby allure all well-disposed persons to the imitation of those things which are honest and vertuous, and to the evitacion of such things as are evill and obnoxious; letting them thereby understand the happie issue and successe of the one, and the miserable and wretched end and event of the other: for histories are as so many Records and Registers of matters that hath beene already past, which being a thing that our humane natures are much inclined unto, gives a great pleasure and delight in the reading: Especially to those

Dedicatorie.

those that are well affected to the same. The consideration hereof hath moved me to revive that which hath for a long time been raked up in the embers of oblivion. For there comming by chance into my hand a booke long since printed, the authour whereof was that famous and learned Knight Sir Thomas Moore, sometimes Lord Chancellour of England, wherein is set forth the short Raigne, and unfortunate death of the most young Princes, Edward the sixth, & the the Duke of York his brother, with the troublesome and tyrannicall government of usurping Richard the third, and his miserable end, both which for the mat-

ter

ter

The Epistle

ter of the subject, & the worth
of the Authour (who lived in
those times) deserves to bee
memorized to succeeding ages;
which having for many
yeares escaped the presse, and
by that meanes likely to bee
utterly lost, I have thought
it not amisse to put to my hel-
ping hand, for the restoring of
it to the world; and because I
know you to bee a gentleman
that delights your selfe in
matters of this nature, I am
bould to crave your patronage
herein, and that you would be
pleased to shelter it under the
wings of your protection, not
doubting but by that meanes,
it will bee as welcome to the
world, and as wel entertained,
as it hath formerly beene,
which

Dedicatorie.

*rich being the thing I wish,
gether with your pardon for
is my presumption, I hum-
rest*

Yours to Command,

W. S.

Dedication

which being the thing I wish
to do with you and your
family and I hope I shall
do it

Yours to Command

W. S.



THE
PITTIFVLL
LIFE OF KING
EDWARD
the Fifth.



HE Eternall
God calling to
his Mercy the
Noble Prince
King *Edward*
the Fourth of
that Name, *Edward* his eldest
sonne (Prince of *Wales*) began
his Reigne the ninth day of A-
pril, in the yeere of our Lord,
1483. and in the 23. yeere of
B *Lewis*

I
This
Kings
time with
some part
of King
Richard
the third,
as shall ap-
peare by a
note made
at that
place, was
written by
Sir *Tho-*
mas Moore.

Lewis the eleventh then French King : Which young Prince reigned a small space and little season over this Realme, either in pleasure or liberty. For his Uncle *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, within three months deprived him not onely of his Crowne and Regality, but also unnaturally bereft him of his naturall life: And for the declaration by what crafty engin he first attempted his ungracious purpose, and by what false, colourable and untrue allegations he set forth openly his pretended enterprize, and finally, by what shamefull, cruell, and detestable act he performed the same; Ye must first consider of whom he and his Brother descended, their natures, conditions and inclinations, and then you shall easily perceive, that there could not be a more cruell Tyrant appointed to
atchieve

atchieve a more abominable enterprife.

Their Father was *Richard Plantagenet*, Duke of *Yorke*, which began not by warre, but by Law to challenge the crown of *England*, putting his claime in the Parliament, holden the thirtieth yeere of King *Henry* the sixth, where either for right or for favour, his cause was so set forth and advanced, that the Blood of the said King *Henry*, although he had a goodly Son, was clearly abjected, and the Crowne of the Realme (by authority of Parliament) entayled to the Duke of *Yorke* and his Heires after the decease of the said King *Henry* the Sixth. But the Duke not intending so long to tarry, but minding under the pretext of dissention growne and risen within the Realm, and of Covenants made in the Parliament, not kept,

Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke.

The 3.
sonnes of
Richard
Duke of
Yorke de-
scribed.

but broken, to prevent the time and to take upon him the Governance in King *Henries* life, was by too much hardi- nesse slaine at the Battaile of *Wakefield*, leaving behind him three sonnes, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard*. All these three as they were great estates of Birth, so were they great and stately of stomacke, greedy of promotions, and impatient partners of rule and authority.

This *Edward* revenged his Fathers death, and deposed King *Henry* the Sixth, and attained the Crowne and Scepter of the Realme.

George Duke of *Clarence* was a goodly and well featured Prince, in all things fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his Brother, or the envy of his enemies had not set his Brother against him: for were it by the
Queene

of King Edward the fifth.

5

Queene or the Nobles of her Bloud, which highly maligned the Kings Kindred (as women commonly, not of malice, but of Nature, hate such as their husbands love) or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himselfe, intending to be King, at the least wise, heinous Treason was laid to his charge, and finally were he in fault, or were he faultlesse, attainted was hee by Parliament, and judged to death; and thereupon hastily drowned in a But of Malmsey within the Towre of London. Whose death King *Edward* (although hee commanded it) when he wist it was done, pitteously hee bewailed and sorrowfully repented it.

Richard Duke of Gloucester, the third Sonne (of which I must most entreat) was in wit and courage equall with the other, but in beauty and lineaments

George
Duke of
Clarence
drowned
in a But of
Malmsey.

The Description
of *Richard*
the 3.

ments of Nature farre underneath both, for he was little of stature, evill featured of limbes, crooke-backed, the left shoulder much higher then the right, hard favoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and among common persons a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrathfull and envious; and as it is reported, his Mother the Dutches had much adoe in her travell, that shee could not be delivered of him uncut, and that hee came into the world the feet forward, as men be borne outward, and as the same ran, not untoothed: whether that men of hatred reported above the truth, or that Nature changed his course in his beginning, which in his life committed many things unnaturally, this I leave to Gods Judgement. Hee was no evill Captaine in warre, as to the

the which, his disposition was more inclined, then to peace. Sundry Victories he had, and some Overthrowes, but never for default of his owne person, either for lacke of hardinesse or politicke order. Free hee was of his expences, and somewhat above his power liberall; with large gifts he gat him unstedfast friendship: for which cause he was faine to borrow, pill and extort in other places, which gat him stedfast hatred. Hee was close and secret, a deep dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly familiar where he inwardly hated, not letting to kisse whom he thought to kill, spitefull and cruell, not alway for ill will, but oftner for ambition and to serve his purpose; friend and foe were all indifferent: where his advantage grew, hee spared no mans

King *Henry* the 6.
slaine in
the Tow-
er by *Richard* the
3.

death whose life withstood his purpose. He slew in the Tower King *Henry* the Sixth; saying, Now is there no Heire male of King *Edward* the third, but we of the House of *Yorke*: which murder was done without King *Edward* his assent, which would have appointed that butcherly office to some other, rather then to his owne Brother,

Some Wise men also thinke, that his drift lacked not in helping forth his owne Brother of *Clarence* to his death, which thing in all appearance he resisted, although hee inwardly minded it. And the cause thereof was, as men noting his doings and proceedings did marke (because that he long in King *Edwards* time thought to obtaine the Crown, in case that the King his Brother, (whose life he looked that ill dyet would soone shorten) should

should happen to decease, as he did indeed, his children being young. And then if the Duke of *Clarence* had lived, his pretended purpose had been farre hindered : For if the Duke of *Clarence* had kept himselfe true to his Nephew the young King, every one of these casts had bin a Trumpe in the Duke of *Gloucesters* way : but when he was sure that his Brother of *Clarence* wat dead, then hee knew that hee might worke without that danger. But of these points there is no certainty, and whosoever divineth or conjectureth, may as well shoot too farre as too short : but this conjecture afterward tooke place (as few doe) as you shall perceive hereafter.

But before I declare to you how this *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester* began his mischievous imagined and pretended

enterprise, as apparently shall be opened, I must a little put you in remembrance of a loving and charitable act, no lesse profitable then pleasing to the whole Commonalty, if it had bin so inwardly thought as it was outwardly dissembled, which King *Edward* did, lying on his death bed, not long before he dyed. For in his life, although that the division amongst his friends somewhat grieved and vexed him, yet in his health he lesse regarded and tooke heed to it, by reason that he thought that he was able in all things to rule both parties, were they never so obstinate: But in his last sicknesse (which continued longer then false and fantastickall tales have untruly and falsely surmised, as I my selfe that wrote this Pamphlet truly knew) when hee perceived his naturall strength was

was gone; and hoped little of recovery by the arts of all his Physicians, which he perceived onely to prolong his life; Then he began to consider the youth of his Children, howbeit hee nothing lesse mistrusted then that that hapned; yet he wisely foreseeing and considering, that many harmes might ensue by the debate of his Nobles, while the youth of his children should lack discretion and good counsell of their friends, (for hee knew well that every part would worke for their owne commodity, and rather by pleasant advice to win themselves favour, then by profitable advertisement to doe the Children good:) wherefore lying on his death bed at *Westminster*, hee called to him such Lords as then were about him, whom hee knew to be at variance, especially the Lord Mar-
queste

guesse *Dorset* son to the *Queen*, and the Lord *Hastings*, against whom the *Queene* especially grudged for the favour that the King bare him, and also she thought him familiar with the King in wanton company: her Kin bare him envy, aswell for that the King made him Capitaine of *Calice*, which office the Lord *Rivers* Brother to the *Queene* claimed of the King by his former promise, as of divers other gifts which hee received that they looked for. And when these Lords with divers other of both parties were come unto the Kings presence, he caused himselfe to be raised up with pillowes, and as I can guesse, said thus or much like in sentence to them.

An Exhortation
of King
Edward
the 4. on
his death
bed.

My Lords, my deare kinsmen and allies, in what plight I now lye, you see, and I perfitly feele; by the which I look
the

the lesse while to live with you,
therefore the more deeply I am
moved to care in what case I
leave you; for such as I leave
you, such are my children like
to finde you, which if they
should finde at variance (as
God forbid) they themselves
might hap to fall at warre,
ere their discretion would serve
to set you at peace: You see
their youth, of which I reckon
the onely surety to rest in your
concord. For it sufficeth not
all you to love them, if each of
you hate other: If they were
men, your faithfulnessse might
hap to suffice, but childhood
must bee maintained by mens
authority, and slippery youth
underpropped with elder
counsell; which they can never
have except you give it, nor
you give it except you agree;
for where each laboureth to
breake that the other maketh,
and

and for hatred each impugneth others counsell, there must needs be a long tract, ere any good conclusion can issue. And further, while each partie laboureth to be chiefe flatterer, adulation shall then have more place, then plaine and faithfull advice, of which must needs ensue the evill bringing up of the Prince, whose minde, in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to mischief and riot, and draw downe this Noble Realme to ruine: But if grace turne him to wisdom (which God send him) then they which by evill meanes pleased him best, shall after fall farthest out of favour, so that at the length evill drifts drive to naught, and good plaine wayes prosper and flourish. Great variance hath beene betweene you, not alwayes for great causes: Sometime a thing right well

well intended and misconstrued, hath beene turned to the worse, or a small displeasure done to you, either by your owne affection, or by instigation of evill tongues, hath beene sorely aggravated. But this I know wel, you had never so great cause of hatred, as you have of love, because wee be all men, and that we be all Christian men.

This I will leave to Preachers to tell you, and yet I know not whether any Preachers words ought more to move you, then I that am going by and by to the place that they alpreach of. But this shall I desire of you to remember, that the one part of you being of my bloud, the other of my allies, and each of you with other either of kindred or affinity, which is the very spirituall affinity and kindred in Christ, as all partakers of

of the Sacraments of Christs Church. The weight of which consanguinity if we did beare, as would to God wee did, then should wee more be moved to spirituall charity then to fleshly consanguinity. Our Lord forbid that you love the worse together for the selfe-same cause that you ought to love the better, and yet that hapneth; for no where finde wee so deadly debate as amongst them which by nature and law most ought to agree together. Such a Serpent is ambition and desire of vaine glory and soveraignty, while amongst estates, when he is once entred, he creeperth forth so farre, till with division and variance hee turneth all to mischief; First longing to be next to the best, afterward equall with the best, and at the last chiefe and above the best. Of which immoderate appetite
of

of worship, and the debate and
dissention that grew thereby,
what losse, what sorrow, what
trouble hath within these few
yeeres growne within this
Realme, I pray God as well to
forget as wee well remember;
which thing if I could as well
have foreseene, as I have with
my more paine then pleasure
proved, by God his blessed
Lady (that was his common
oath) I would never have won
the courtesies of mens knees
with the losse of so many heads.
But sith things passed cannot be
called againe, much more ought
we to beware, by what occasi-
on we have taken so great hurt
before, that wee presently fall
not into that occasion againe.
Now be these griefs passed, and
all is quiet, thanked bee God,
and likely well to prosper in
wealthfull peace, under your
Cousins my children, if God
send

send them life, and you love and concord. Of which two things, the lesse losse were they, by whom although God did his pleasure, yet should this Realme alwayes finde Kings, and peradventure as good Kings as they. But if you amongst your selves in a childes Raigne fall at debate, many a good man shall innocently perish, and hee and you also, ere this Land finde peace and quiet againe: wherefore in these last words that ever I look to speak to you, I exhort and require you all, for the love that you have borne to mee, and for the love that I have borne to you, and for the love that our Lord beareth to us all; From this time forward, all griefes forgotten, each of you love other, which I verily trust you will, if you any thing regard God or your Kings affinity or kindred,
this

this Realme, your owne Coun-
try, or your owne safety and
wealth. And therewithall, the
King for faintnesse no longer
enduring to sit up, layed him
downe on his right side, his face
toward them. And there was
none present that could for-
beare weeping, but the Lords
comforted him with as good
words as they could, and an-
swered for the time, as they
thought should stand with his
pleasure. And there in his pre-
sence (as by their words ap-
peared) each forgave other,
and joyned their hands toge-
ther, when, as it after appeared
by their deedes, their hearts
were farre asunder. And so
within a few dayes, this Noble
Prince deceased at *Westminster*,
the ninth day of *April*, in the
yeere of our Lord, 1483. after
that he had raigned 22. yeeres,
one month, and eight dayes,
and

and was with great Funerall pompe conveiged to *Windsore*, leaving behinde him two sons, *Edward* the Prince (of whom this story entreateth) a childe of 13. yeeres of age, *Richard* Duke of *Torke* two yeeres yonger then the Prince, and five daughters, *Elizabeth*, which by Gods Grace was married to King *Henry* the seventh and Mother to King *Henry* the 8. *Cicile* not so fortunate as faire, first wedded to the Vicount *Welles*, after to one *Kyne*, and lived not in great wealth, *Bridget* professed her selfe a close Nunne at *Sion*, *Anne* was married to Lord *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* and Duke of *Norfolke*, *Katherine* the youngest daughter was married to Lord *William Courtney*, sonne to the Earle of *Devonshire*, which long time tossed in either fortune, sometime in
wealth,

wealth, after in aduersity, till the benignity of her Nephew King *Henry* the eighth brought her into a sure estate, according to her degree and Progeny.

This King *Edward* was such a Prince of Governance and behaviour in the time of peace (for in the time of warre each must bee others enemy) that there was never any King in this Realme attaining the Crowne by warre and battaile, so heartily beloved with the more substance of his people, nor hee himselſe ſo ſpecially favoured in any part of his life, as at the time of his death : which favour and affection yet after his death, by the cruelty, miſchiefe and trouble of the tempeſtuous world that followed, highly towards him more encreaſed. At ſuch time as he dyed, the diſpleaſure of
thoſe

those that bare him a grudge for King *Henry* the sixth his sake (whom he deposed) was well asswaged, and in effect quenched within the space of 22.yeeres, which is a great part of a mans life, and some were reconciled and growne into his favour, of the which he was never strange, when it was with true heart demanded. Hee was goodly of Personage, and Princely to behold, of heart couragious, politicke in counsell, and in aduersity nothing abashed, in prosperity rather joyfull then proud, in peace just and mercifull, in war sharpe and fierce, in the Field bold and hardy, and yet neverthelesse no farther then reason and policie would adventure, whose warres whosoever circumspectly and advisedly considereth, hee shall no lesse commend his wisdom and policie where he

he avoided them, then his man-
hood where hee vanquished
them. Hee was of visage full-
faced and lovely; of body
mighty, strong and clean made:
with over-liberall and wanton
dyet he waxed something cor-
pulent and burly; but never-
thelesse not uncomely. Hee
was in youth greatly given to
fleshy wantonnesse, from the
which health of body in, great
prosperity and fortune, with-
out an especiall grace hardly
refraineth. This fault little
grieved his people; for neither
could any one mans pleasure
stretch or extend to the displea-
sure of very many, nor a multi-
tude bee grieved by a private
mans fantasie or voluptuouf-
nesse, when it was done with-
out violence. And in his latter
dayes he left all wild dalliance,
and fell to gravity, so that hee
brought his Realme into a
wealthy

wealthy and prosperous estate, all feare of outward enemies were cleerely extinguished, and no warre was in hand, nor none toward, but such as no man looked for. The people were toward their Prince not in a constrained feare, but in a true, loving, and wilfull obedience among themselves, and the Commons were in good peace. The Lords whom hee knew at variance, hee on his death bed (as hee thought) brought to good concord, love and amity. And a little before his death, he had left gathering of money of his subjects, which is the onely thing that draweth the hearts of *English* men from their Kings and Princes: nor nothing he enterprised nor tooke in hand, by the which he should be driven thereunto. For his tribute out of *France* he had a little before recovered
and

and obtained. And the yeere before he dyed, hee recovered againe the Towne of *Barwicke* against the King of *Scots*. And albeit that all the time of his reigne, he was so benigne, courteous and familiar, that no part of his vertues was esteemed more than those high humilities: Yet that condition in the end of his last dayes decayed not, in the which many Princes by a long continued Sovereignty, decline to a proud port and behaviour from their conditions accustomed at their beginning. Yet lowlinesse and gentlenesse so farre forth in him increased, that the Summer before he dyed, hee being at *Havering* at the Bower, sent for the Maior of *London* thither, onely to hunt and make pastime, where hee made them not so hearty but so familiar and friendly cheere, and

C

sent

sent also to their Wives such plenty of Venison, that no one thing in many dayes before gat him either more hearts or more hearty favour amongst the common people, which oftentimes more esteeme and take for great kindnesse a little courtesie, then a great profit or benefit.

And so this Noble Prince deceased, as you have heard, in that time his life was most desired, and when his people most desired to keepe him: Which love of his people, and their entire affection toward him, had beene to his Noble Children (having in themselves also as many gifts of Nature, as many Princely vertues, as much good towardnesse as their age could receive) a marvellous fortresse and a sure armour, if the division and dissention of their friends had not unarmed them,
and

and left them destitute, and the execrable desire of Sovereignty provoked him to their destruction, which if either kind or kindnesse had holden place, must needes have beene their defence. For *Richard Gloucester*, by nature their Uncle, by Office their Protectour, to their Father greatly beholden, and to them by oath and allegiance bounden, all the bonds broken and violated which binde man and man together, without any respect of God or the World, unnaturally contrived to bereave them, not onely of their dignity and pre-eminence, but also of their naturall lives and worldly felicity.

And first to shew you, that by conjecture he pretended this thing in his Brothers life, yee shall understand for a truth that the same night that King *Edward* dyed, one called *Mistel-*

brooke, long ere the day sprung, came to the house of one *Pottier* dwelling in *Redcrosse-street* without *Cripple Gate* of *London*, and when he was with hasty wrapping quickly let in, the said *Mistelbrooke* shewed unto *Pottier* that *King Edward* was that night deceased; by my truth, quoth *Pottier*, then will my Master the Duke of *Gloucester* be King, and that I warrant thee. What cause hee had so to thinke, hard it is to say, whether hee being his servant knew any such thing pretended, or otherwise had any inkling thereof, but of all likelihood hee spake it not of nought.

But now to returne to the true History, were it that the Duke of *Gloucester* had of old fore practised this conclusion, or was before-time moved thereunto, and put in hope by the

the tender age of the young Princes his Nephews, as opportunity and likelihood of speed putteth a man in courage of that that he never intended. Certaine it is, that he being in the North parts, for the good governance of the Countrey, being advertised of his Brothers death, contrived the destruction of his Nephewes with the usurpation of the Royall Dignity and Crowne. And forasmuch as he well wist, and had holpe to maintaine a long continued grudge and heart-burning betweene the Queenes kindred and the Kings Bloud, either part envying others authority, he now thought, as it was indeed, a furtherly beginning to the pursuit of his intent, and a sure ground and situation of his unnatural building, if hee might under the pretence of revenging of old

displeasures, abuse the ignorance and anger of the one party to the destruction of the other, and then to win to his purpose as many as he could: and such as could not be won, might be lost ere they looked for it. But of one thing hee was certaine, that if his intent were once perceived, hee should have made peace betweene both parties with his owne blood: but all his intent he kept secret till hee knew his friends; of the which *Henry* the Duke of *Buckingham* was the first that sent to him, after his Brothers death, a trusty servant of his, called *Persivall*, to the City of *Torke*, where the Duke of *Gloucester* kept the K. his brothers Funeralls. This *Persivall* came to *John Ward* a cret Chamberer to the Duke of *Gloucester*, desiring that hee in close and covert manner might
speake

speake with the Duke his Master : whereupon in the dead of the night , the Duke sent for *Persivall* (all other being avoided) which shewed to the Duke of *Gloucester*, that the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Master, in this new World would take such part as hee would, and would farther waite upon him with a thousand good fellowes, if need were.

The Duke sent backe the Messenger with great thanks, and divers privie instructions by mouth: which *Persivall* did so much by his travell, that he came to the Duke of *Buckingham* his Master into the Marches of *Wales*, and presently after with new instructions met with the Duke of *Gloucester* at *Notingham*, which was come out of the North-country with many Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of 600. Horse

and more, in his journey towards *London*. And after secret meeting and communication had betweene him and the Duke of *Gloucester*, hee returned with such speed, that hee brought the Duke of *Buckingham* his Master to meete with the Duke of *Gloucester* not far from *Northampton*, with three hundred Horſes, and ſo they two came together to *Northampton*, where they firſt began their unhappy enterpriſe, and ſo the Duke of *Buckingham* continued ſtil with the Duke of *Gloucester* till he was crowned King, as yee ſhall plainly perceive hereafter.

The young King, at the death of his Father, kept houſhold at *Ludlow*, for his Father had ſent him thither for Juſtice to be done in the Marches of *Wales*, to the end that by the authority of his preſence, the wilde

wilde *Welshmen* and evill disposed persons should refraine from their accustom'd murders and outrages. The governance of this young Prince was committed to Lord *Anthony Woodville* Earle *Rivers* and Lord *Scales*, Brother to the Queene, a wise, hardy, and honourable personage, as valiant of hands as politick in Counsell; and with him were associate others of the same party, and in effect, every one as hee was neere of kin unto the Queene, so was he planted next about the Prince. That drift by the Queene seemed to be devised, whereby her bloud might of right in tender youth be so planted in the Princes favour, that afterward it should hardly be eradicated out of the same.

The Duke of *Gloucester* turned all this to their destruction, and upon that ground set

the foundation of his unhappy building : For whom soever he perceived to be at variance with them, or to beare toward him selfe any favour, hee brake unto them, some by mouth, some by writing and secret messengers, that it was neither reason, nor yet to bee suffered, that the young King their Master and kinsman should be in the hands and custody of his Mothers kindred, sequestred in manner from their company and attendance, of which every one ought him as faithfull service as they, and many of them of farr more honourable part of kin then his Mothers side, whose blood, quoth the Duke of Gloucester, saving the Kings pleasure, was farre unmeet to be matched with his, which now to be removed from the King, and the least Noble to bee left about him,

him, is, quoth he, neither honourable to his Majesty, nor to us, and also to him lesse surety, to have his Nobles and mightiest of his friends from him, and to us all no little danger to suffer, and especially our ill willers to grow into great authority with the King in youth, namely, which is light of beliefe and soone perswaded.

Yee remember, that King *Edward* himselfe, albeit he was both of age and discretion, yet was he ruled in many things by that faction, more then stood ther with his honour, or our profit, or with the commodity of any man else, except onely the immoderate advancement of themselves, which whether they thirsted fore after their owne weale or no, it were hard I thinke to guesse. And if some folkes friendship had not holden

den better place with the King, then any respect of kindred, they might, peradventure, easely have trapped and brought to confusion some of us ere this; and why not as easely as they have done others, or this as neere of the Bloud Royall, but our Lord hath wrought his will, and thanked be his grace, that perill is past: howbeit, as great is growing, if wec suffer this young King in his enemies hands, which without his witting might abuse the name of his commandement to any of our undoing; which things, God and our good proviſion forbid; of which good proviſion, none of us have any thing the lesse need for the late attonement made, in which the Kings pleasure had more place then the parties hearts or wills, nor none of us is so unwise, or so much overseene, as to trust a
new

new friend made of an old foe, or to thinke that any onely kindenesse so sodainly contracted in an houre, continued scantly yet a fortnight, should be deeper set in our stomackes then a long accustomed malice many yeeres rooted.

With these perswasions and writings, the Duke of *Gloucester* set on fire them which were easie to kindle, and especially two, *Henry Duke of Buckingham*, and *William Lord Hastings*, and Lord Chamberlaine, both men of honour and of great power, the one by long succession from his Ancestors, the other by his Offices and the Kings favour. These two not bearing each to other so much love, as hatred both to the *Queenes* bloud, accorded together with the Duke of *Gloucester*, that they would remove from the King all his Mothers friends,

friends, under the name of their enemies.

Whereupon the Duke of *Gloucester*, being advertised that the Lords about the King intended to bring him to *London* to his Coronation, accompanied with such a number of their friends, that it should be hard for him to bring his purpose to passe, without the assembling and gathering of people, and in manner of open warre, wherof the end he knew was doubtfull, and in the which the King being on the other side, his part should have the name and face of Rebellion:

He secretly therefore by divers meanes, caused the Queene to be perswaded, that it was neither need, and should also be dangerous for the King to come up so strong; for as now, every Lord loved other, and

no

no other thing studied for, but the triumph of his Coronation, and honour of the King. And if the Lords about the King should assemble, in the Kings name, much people, they should give the Lords betwixt whom and them there had beene some time debate, an occasion to feare and suspect, lest they should gather this people, not for the Kings safe-guard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, having more regard to their old variance, then to their new atonement; for the which cause, they on the other part might assemble men also for their defence, whose powers shee knew well stretched farre; and thus should all the Realme fall in an uproare, and of the mischief that thereof should ensue (which was likely to be not a little) the most harme was like to fall where

where she least would, and then all the World would put her and her kindred in the blame, saying, That they had unwisely and untruly broken the amity and peace, which the King her Husband had so prudently made between her kindred and his, which amity his Kinne had alwayes observed.

The Queene being thus perswaded, sent word to the King and to her Brother, that there was no cause nor need to assemble any peope, and also the Duke of *Gloucester* and other Lords of his side, wrote unto the King so reverently, and to the Queenes friends there so lovingly, that they nothing earthly mistrusting, brought the King toward *London* with a sober company in great haste (but not in good speed) till hee came to *Northampton*, and from thence hee removed to *Strany Stratford*.

Stratford. On which day, the two Dukes and their traine came to *Northampton*, faigning that *Stony Stratford* could not lodge them all, where they found the Earle *Rivers*, intending the next morning to have followed the King, and to bee with him early in the morning. So that night, the Dukes made to the Earle *Rivers* friendly cheere, but as soone as they were departed, very familiar, with great courtesie in open sight, and the Earle *Rivers* lodged, the two Dukes with a few of their privie friends fell to Councell, wherein they spent a great part of the night, and in the dawning of the day, they sent about privily to their servants in their lodgings, to haste to horsebacke, for their Lords were in manner ready to ride, whereupon, all their servants were ready ere the Lord *Rivers* servants

servants were awake. Now had the Dukes taken the keyes of the Inne into their possession, so that none should issue out without their consent. And over this in the high way toward *Stony Stratford*, they set certaine of their folkes that should cause and compell to returne againe all persons that were passing from *Northampton* to *Stony Stratford*, saying that the Dukes themselves would be the first that should come to the King from *Northampton*: thus they bare folkes in hand. But when the Earle *Rivers* understood the Gates closed, and the wayes on every side beset, neither his servants, neither himselfe suffered to goe out, perceiving so great a thing without his knowledge, not begun for nought, comparing this present doing with the last nights cheere, in so few houres
so

so great a change, marvellously
misliked it. Howbeit, sith hee
could not get away, hee deter-
mined not to keepe himselve
close, lest hee should seeme to
hide himselve for some secret
feare of his owne fault, where-
of he saw no such cause in him-
selve; wherefore on the surety
of his owne conscience hee de-
termined to goe to them, and
to inquire what this matter
might meane: Whom as soone
as they saw, they began to quar-
rell with him, affirming that he
pretended to set distance be-
tweene the King and them, to
bring them to confusion,
which should not lye in his po-
wer; and when he began, as he
was an eloquent and well-spo-
ken man, in goodly wise to ex-
cuse himselve, they would not
heare his answer, but tooke
him by force and put him in
ward. And then they moun-
ted

ted on horsebacke and came in
haste to *Stony Stratford*, where
the King was going to horse-
backe, because hee would leave
the lodging for them, for it was
too straight for both the com-
panies. And when they came
to his presence, they alighted
and their company about
them, and on their knees salu-
ted him, and hee them gently
received, nothing earthly
knowing nor mistrusting as
yet. The Duke of *Buckingham*
said aloud, On afore Gentle-
men, and Yeomen keepe your
roomes, and therewith in the
Kings presence they picked a
quarrell to the Lord *Richard*
Grey the Queenes sonne, and
Brother to the Lord *Marquesse*,
and halfe Brother to the King,
saying, that hee and the Mar-
quesse his Brother, and the
Lord *Rivers* his Uncle, had
compassed to rule the King and
the

the Realme, and set variance
betweene the estates, and to
subdue and destroy the Noble
Bloud of the Realme. And to-
ward the accomplishment of
the same, they said, the Lord
Marquesse had entred in-
to the Tower of *London*, and
thence had taken out treasure,
and sent men to the Sea, which
things these Dukes knew well
were done for a good purpose,
and as very necessary, appoin-
ted by the whole Counsell at
London, but somewhat they
must say: Unto the which
words the king answered, what
my Brother Marquesse hath
done, I cannot say, but in good
faith, I dare well answer for
my Uncle *Rivers* and my Bro-
ther here, that they bee inno-
cent of such matters. Yea, my
Liege, quoth the Duke of *Buck-*
ingham, they have kept the dea-
ling of these matters farre from
the

the knowledge of your good Grace. And forth-with they arrested the Lord *Richard* and Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hawte*, knights, in the Kings presence, and brought the King and all backe to *Northampton*, where they tooke farther counsell in their affaires. And there they sent from the King whom it pleased them, and set about him such servants as better pleased them then him. At which dealing he wept and was not content, but it booted not. And at dinner, the Duke of *Gloucester* sent a dish from his owne Table to the Lord *Rivers*, praying him to be of good cheere, and all should be well: hee thanked him, and prayed the Messenger to beare it to his Nephew the Lord *Richard* with like words, whom he knew to have need of comfort, as one to whom such

adver-

adversity was strange, but hee himselfe had beene alwayes enured therewith, and therefore could beare it the better. But for all this message, the Duke of *Gloucester* sent the Lord *Rivers*, the Lord *Richard* and Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hamte* into the North parts into divers prisons, but at last, all came to *Pomfret*, where they all foure were beheaded without judgement.

In this manner as you have heard, the Duke of *Gloucester* tooke on him the Governance of the young King, whom with much reverence hee conveighed towards *London*. These tydings came hastily to the Queene before midnight, by a very soore report, that the King her sonne was taken, and that her Brother and her other son, and other her friends were arrested

rested and sent, no man knew whither. With this heauey tidings the Queene bewailed her childs ruine, her friends mischance, and her owne misfortune, cursing the time that ever she was perswaded to leave the gathering of people to bring up the King with a great power, but that was passed, and therefore now she tooke her younger sonne, the Duke of *Torke*, and her daughter, and went out of the Palace of *Westminster* into the Sanctuary, and there lodged in the Abbots place, and shee and all her children and company were registred for Sanctuary persons. The same night there came to Doctor *Rotheram* Archbishop of *Torke*, and Lord Chancelour, a messenger from the Lord Chamberlaine to *Torke place* beside *Westminster*; the Messenger was brought to the Bishops Bed side

side, and declared to him that the Dukes were gone back with the young King to *Northampton*, and declared further, that the Lord *Hastings* his master sent him word, that hee should feare nothing, for all should be well. Well, (quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will, it will never be so well as wee have seene it, and then the messenger departed. Whereupon the Bishop called up all his servants, and tooke with him the great Seale, and came before day to the Queen, about whom hee found much heavinesse, rumble, haste, businesse, conveyance and carriage of her stuffe into Sanctuary; every man was busie to carry, beare, and convey stuffe, chests and fardels, no man was unoccupied, and some carried more then they were commanded to another place.

The Queene sat alone below
 on the Rushes all desolate and
 dismaid; whom the Archbi-
 shop comforted in the best
 manner that he could, shewing
 her, that the matter was no-
 thing so sore as she took it for;
 and that hee was put in good
 hope and out feare by the mes-
 sage sent to him from the Lord
Hastings. A woe worth him,
 quoth the Queene, for it is hee
 that goeth about to destroy me
 and my bloud. Madame, quoth
 he, be of good comfort, and I
 assure you, if they crowne any
 other King then your sonne,
 whom they now have, we shall
 on the morrow crowne his
 Brother, whom you have here
 with you. And here is the
 Great Seale; which in likewise
 as your Noble Husband deli-
 vered it to mee, so I deliver it
 to you, to the use of your Son,
 & therewith delivered her the
 Great

Great Seale, and departed home in the dawning of the day. And when hee opened his windowes and looked on the *Thames*, hee might see the River full of Boats, of the Duke of *Gloucester* his servants watching, that no person should goe to Sanctuary, nor none should passe unsearched.

Then was there great rumour and commotion in the Citie, and in other places, the people diversly divined upon this dealing. And divers Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, either for favour of the Queene, or for feare of themselves, assembled companies, and went flocking together in harnesse. And many also, for that they recounted this demanour attempted, not so specially against other Lords, as against the King himselfe, in disturbance of his Coronation,

therefore they assembled by and by together; to commune of this matter at *London*. The Archbishop of *Yorke*, fearing that it would be ascribed (as it was indeed) to over-much lightnesse, that he so suddenly had yeelded up the Great Seale to the Queene, to whom the custody thereof nothing appertained without especiall commandement of the King, secretly sent for the Seale againe, and brought it with him, after the accustomed manner, to meete with the Lords.

At this meeting, the Lord *Hastings*, whose truth toward the King no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perswaded the Lords to beleieve, that the Duke of *Gloucester* was faithfull and sure towards his Prince, and that the Lord *Rivers*, the Lord *Richard*, and other

ther Knights apprehended, were for matters attempted by them against the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham*, put under arrest, for their surety, and not for the Kings danger, and that they were also in safe-guard there to remaine, till the matter were (not by the Dukes onely) but also by all the other Lords of the Kings Counsell indifferently examined, and by their discretions ordered, and either judged or appeased. And one thing hee advised them to beware of, that they judged not the matter too farre forth ere they knew the truth, nor turning their private grudges into the common hurt, irritating and provoking men unto anger, and disturbing the Kings Coronation, toward which the Dukes were comming, for that, then might peradventure bring the matter

so farre out of joynt, that it should never bee brought in frame againe, which if it should hap as it were likely to come to a field, though all parties were in all other things equall, yet should the authority bee on that side, where the King is himselfe; with these perswasions of the Lord *Hastings*, whereof part hee himselfe beleevd, and of part hee knew well the contrary, these commotions were somewhat appeased. But especially, because the Dukes of *Buckingham* and *Gloucester* were so neere, and came on so shortly with the King, in no other manner, nor no other voyce or semblance then to his Coronation, causing the same to be blowne about, that such persons as were apprehended, had contrived the destruction of the Dukes of *Gloucester* and of *Buckingham*,
and

and other of the Noble Bloud
of this Realme, to the intent
that they alone would rule and
governe the King. And for
the colour thereof, such of the
Dukes servants as rode with the
Carts of their stuffe which was
taken, among the which stuffe,
no marvell though some were
harnesse, which at the breaking
up of such an household must be
brought away or cast away,
they shewed to the people, and
as they went, said, Lo, here be
the Barrells of harness that
these Traytors had privily
conveyed in their carriages to
destroy the Noble Lords with-
all. This divers, (although it
made the matter to wise men
more unlikely) well percei-
ving that the intenders of such
a purpose, would rather have
had their harness on their
backes, then to have bound
them up in barrells, yet much

Edmund
Shaw Ma-
ior of
London.

part of the common people were therewith right well satisfied.

When the King approached neere the City, *Edmund Shaw* Goldsmith, then Maior of the City, with the Aldermen and Sheriffes in Scarlet, and five hundred commoners in murrey received his Grace reverently at *Harnesay Parke*, and so conveighed him to the City, where hee entred the fourth day of *May*, in the first and last yeere of his Reigne, and was lodged in the Bishop of *Londons* Palace: but the Duke of *Gloucester* bare him in open sight so reverently, saying to all men as he rode, Behold your Prince and Sovereigne Lord, and made such semblance of lowlinesse to his Prince, that from the great obloquy that hee was in so late before, he was suddenly fallen in so great trust, that at the

the Councell next assembled, he was made the onely chiefe Ruler, and thought most meet to be Protectour of the King and his Realme: so that, were it destiny, or were it folly, the Lambe was betaken to the Wolfe to keepe. At which counsell the Archbishop of *Yorke* was fore blamed for delivering the Great Seale to the Queene, and the Seale taken from him, and delivered to Doctor *John Russell* Bishop of *Lincolne*, a wise man and a good, and of much experience, and divers Lords and Knights were appointed to divers roomes: the Lord Chamberlaine and some other kept the roomes that they were in before, but not many.

Now were it so that the Protectour (which alwayes you must take for the Duke of *Gloucester*) fore thirsted for the

atchieving of his pretended enterprise, and thought every day a yeere till it were performed, yet durst he no farther attempt, as long as hee had but halfe his prey in his hand, well witting that if hee deposed the one brother, all the Realme would fall toth' other, if he remained either in Sanctuary or should haply bee shortly conveyed to his Fathers liberty. Wherefore incontinent at the next meeting of the Lords in Councell, hee propounded to them, that it was an heinous thing of the Queene, and proceeding of great malice toward the Kings Councillors, that she should keepe the Kings Brother in Sanctuary from him whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to have his Brother with him, and that to bee done by her to no other intent, but to bring all the Lords in an obloquy

quy and murmure of the people, as though they were not to bee trusted with the Kings Brother, which Lords were by the whole assent of the Nobles of the Realme, appointed as the Kings neere friends, to the tuition of his Royall Person, the prosperity whereof (quoth he) standeth not alone in keeping from enemies and evill dyet, but partly also in recreation and moderate pleasure, which hee cannot take in his tender youth in the company of old and ancient persons, but in the familiar conversation of those that be not farre under, nor farre above his age, and nevertheless, of estate convenient to accompany his Majesty, wherefore with whom rather, then with his owne Brother? and if any man thinke this consideration light (I thinke no man so thinketh that loveth the King)

King) let him consider, that sometime without small things greater cannot stand, and verily it redoundeth greatly to the dishonour of the Kings highnesse, and of all us that bee about his Grace, to have it come in any mans mouth, not in this Realme onely, but also in other Lands (as evil words walke farre) that the Kings Brother should bee faine to keepe Sanctuary. For every man will judge, that no man will so doe for thought, and such opinions fastned in mens hearts be hard to bee wrested out, and may grow to more griefe then any man here can divine. Wherefore, mee thinketh, it were not the worth to send to the Queene some honorable and trusty personage, such as tendreth the Kings weale and the honour of his Counce, and is also in credit and favour with her;

her; for w^{ch} considerations none
seemeth more meetly to me the
the reverend Father, my Lord
Cardinall, Archbishop of *Can-*
terbury, who may in this matter
doe most good of all men, if it
please him to take the paine,
which I doubt not of his good-
nesse hee will not refuse; for the
Kings sake & ours, and wealth
of the young Duke himselfe,
the Kings most honourable
Brother, and for the comfort
of my Soveraigne Lord him-
selfe, my most dearest Nephew;
considering, that thereby shall
be ceased the slanderous rumor
and obloquy now going a-
broad, and the hurts avoided
that thereof might ensue, and
then must rest and quietnesse
grow to all the Realme. And
if thee perhaps be so obstinate,
and so precisely set in her own
will and opinion, that neither
his wife and faithfull advertise-
ment

ment can move her, nor any mans reason satisfie her, then shall wee by my advice, by the Kings authority fetch him out of that prison, and bring him to his Noble presence, in whose continuall company hee shall be so well cherished, and so honourably intreated, that all the world shall to our honour and her reproach, perceiue that it was onely malice, frowardnesse and folly, that caused her to keepe him there. This is my minde for this time, except that any of you, my Lords, perceiue to the contrary, for neuer shall I by Gods Grace so wed my selfe unto mine owne will, but I shall bee ready to change it upon your better advices.

When the Protector had said, all the Councell affirmed that the motion was good and reasonable, and to the King and

and the Duke honourable; and a thing that should cease great murmure in the Realme, if the Mother might by good meanes be induced to deliver him; which thing the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whom they all agreed also to be most convenient thereunto, tooke upon him to move her, and thereto to doe his uttermost endeavor. Howbeit if shee could in no wise be intreated with her good will to deliver him, then thought he and such of the spirituality as were present, that it were not in any wise to bee attempted, to take him out against her will, for it would be a thing that should turne to the grudge of all men, and high displeasure of God, if the privilege of that place should bee broken, which had so many yeeres been kept, which both Kings and Popes had granted
and

and confirmed, which ground was sanctified by Saint Peter himselfe more then five hundred yeeres agoe. And sith that time, was never so undevout a King, that ever enterprised that sacred priviledge to violate, nor so holy a Bishop that durst presume the Church of the same to consecrate: and therefore, quoth the Archbishop, God forbid that any man should, for any earthly enterprise, breake the immunity and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary, that hath beene the safeguard of so many a good mans life: but I trust, quoth he, wee shall not need it, but for any manner of need I would we should not doe it, I trust that shee with reason shall bee contented, and all things in good manner obtained. And if it hap that I bring it not to passe, yet shall I further it to
my

my best power, so that you all shall perceiue my good will, diligence, and endeavour: But the Mothers dread and womanish feare shall bee the let if any be.

Nay, womanish frowardnesse, quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, for I dare take it on my soule, that she well knoweth that shee needeth no such thing to feare, either for her sonne or for her selfe. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with women, would God some men of her kin were women too, and then should all be soon at rest. Howbeit, there is none of her kinne the lesse loved for that they be of her kin, but for their owne evill deserving.

And put the case, that wee neither loved her nor her kin, yet there were no cause why wee should hate the Kings Noble

ble Brother, to whose Grace wee our selves bee kin, whose Honour if shee desired as our dishonour, and as much regard tooke to his wealth as to her owne will, she could be as loth to suffer him to be absent from the King as any of us, if she had any wit, as would God she had as good will as shee hath froward wit. For shee thinketh her selfe no wiser then some that are here, of whose faithfull mindes she nothing doubteth, but verily beleeveth and acknowledgeth, that they would be as sory of his harme as her owne selfe, and yet they would have him from her if shee abide there.

And we all, I thinke, be content that both her children bee with her, if shee came from thence, and abide in such a place where they may be with their honour. Now if shee re-

fuse

use in the deliverance of him,
to follow the wisdom of
them, whose wisdom shee
knoweth, whose approbate fi-
delity shee well trusteth; it is
easie to perceiue forwardnesse
letteth her, and not feare. But
goe to, suppose that she feareth
(as who may let her to feare
her owne shadow) the more we
ought to feare to leave him in
her hands, for if shee cast such
fond doubts that shee feare his
hurt, then will she feare that he
shall be fetcht thence, for shee
will soone thinke, that if men
were set (which God forbid on
so great a mischief) the San-
ctuary wil little let them, which
Sanctuary good men, as mee
thinketh, might without sinne
somewhat lesse regard then
they doe.

Now then, if she doubt lest
he might bee fetched from her,
is it not likely that she will send
him

Of Sanctuaries.

him somewhere out of the Realme? Verily I looke for none other. And I doubt not but she now as fore mindeth it, as wee minde the let thereof: And if shee might hap to bring that purpose to passe, as it were no great mastery to doe, we letting her alone, all the world would say, that wee were a sort of wise Counsellors about a King, to let his Brother be cast away under our noses. And therefore I ensure you faithfully, for my minde, I will rather, mauger her stomach, fetch him away, then leave him there till her feare or fond frowardnesse convey him away, and yet will I breake no Sanctuary, for verily sith the priviledge of that place, and other of that sort, have so long continued, I would not goe about to breake it, but if they were now to begin, I would not be hee should
make

make them; yet will not I say
nay, but it is a deed of pittie,
that such men as the chance
of the Sea, or their evill debtors
have brought into poyertie,
should have some place of re-
fuge to keepe in their bodies
out of the danger of their cru-
ell creditors. And if it fortune
the Crowne to come in questi-
on, as it hath done before this
time, while each part taketh o-
ther for Traytors, I thinke it
necessary to have a place of re-
fuge for both: But as for
theeves and murderers, whereof
these places be full, and which
never fall from their craft after
they once fall thereunto, it is
pittie that every Sanctuary
should serve them, and especi-
ally wilfull murtherers, whom
God commandeth to bee taken
from the Altar, and to bee put
to death. And where it is o-
therwise then in these cases,
there

there is no need of Sanctuaries, appointed by God in the Old Law. For if necessity of his owne defence, or misfortune drived him to that deed, then a pardon serveth him, which either is granted of course, or the King of pittie and compassion giveth.

Now looke how few Sanctuary men there be, whom necessity or misfortune compelled to goe thither: And then see on the other side, what a sort there be commonly therein of such, whom wilfull unthriftinesse hath brought to naught; What a rabble of Theeves, Murtherers and malicious hainous Traytors be, and that in two places especially, the one at the elbow of the Cittie, and the other in the very bowels, I dare well avow it, if you weigh the good that they doe, with the hurt that cometh

men of them, yee shall finde it
much better to lose both then
to have both. And this, I say,
although they were not abused,
(as they now bee and so long
have been) that I feare me ever
they will be while men be a-
fraid to set their hands to the
amendment, as though God
and Saint Peter were the Pa-
trons of ungracious living,
Now unthrifts riot and run in
debt upon boldnesse of these
places; yea, and rich men run
thither with poor mens goods,
there they build, there they
spend and bid their creditors
goe whistle. Mens Wives run
thither with their Husbands
Plate, and say they dare not a-
bide with their Husbands for
beating; Thieves bring thi-
ther stolne goods, and live
thereon. There devise they
new robberies nightly, and
steale out and rob, rive, and kill
men

men, and come again into those places, as though those places gave them not only a safeguard for the harme that they have done, but a license also to doe more mischief: howbeit, much of this great abusio, (if wise men would set their hands there unto) might be amended, with great thankes of God and no breache of the priuiledge. The conclusion is, sith it is so long agoe, I wot not what Pope and what Prince, more pitious then politicke, hath granted it, and other men sensible of a religious feare, have not broken it, let us take paines with it, and let it stand a Gods Name in his force, as farre forth as reason will, which is not so farre forth as may serue to let us of the fetching forth of this Noble man, to his honour and wealth, out of that place, in the which hee neither is nor can be a Sanctuary

ary or privileged man. A Sanctuary ever serveth to defend the body of that man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great hurt only, but of lawfull hurt ; for against unlawfull hurts and harmes, no Pope nor King intended to privilege any one place, wherein it is lawfull for one man to doe another man wrong. That no man unlawfully take hurt, that liberty, the King, the Law, and very nature forbiddeth in every place, and maketh in that regard, for every man, every place a Sanctuary ; but whereas man is by lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth he the tuition of some speciall privilege, which is the onely ground of all Sanctuaries, from which necessity this Noble Prince is farre, whose love to his King, Nature and kindred proveth, whose innocencie to all the
E world,

world, his tender youth affirmeth, and so Sanctuary as for him is not necessary, and none he can have. Men come not to Sanctuary, as they come to Baptisme, to require it by God-fathers, he must aske it himselfe that must have it, and reason, sith no man hath cause to have it, but whose conscience of his own fault maketh him have need to require it. What will then hath yonder Babe, which if hee had discretion to require it, if need were, I dare say would be now right angry with them that keep him there? And I would thinke without any scruple of conscience, without any breach of priviledge, to bee somewhat more homely with them that be their Sanctuary men indeed, that if one goe to Sanctuary with another mans goods, why should not the King, leaving his body at liberty, satisfie the party

party of his goods even within the Sanctuary; for neither King nor Pope can give any place such a priviledge, that it shall discharge a man of his debts, being able to pay.

And with that, divers of the Clergy that were there present, whether they said it for his pleasure, or as they thought, agreed plainly by the Law of God and of the Church, that a Sanctuary man should be delivered in payment of his debts, and stolne goods to the owner, and onely liberty reserved to him, to get his living by the labour of his hands. Verily, quoth the Duke, I thinke ye say very truth: And what if a mans wife take Sanctuary, because shee list to run from her husband? I would thinke, if she can alledge no other cause; hee may lawfully, without any displeasure done to Saint Pe-

ter, take her out of Saint *Peters* Church by the arme. And if no body may bee taken out of Sanctuary, because he saith hee will abide there, then if a child will take Sanctuary, because he feareth to goe to Schoole, his Master must let him alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in it; for there, though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is no feare at all. And verily I have heard of Sanctuary men, but I never heard before of Sanctuary children; and therefore, as for the conclusion of my minde, whosoever may deserve to have need of it, if they thinke it for their surety, let them keepe it, but he can be no Sanctuary man, that hath no other discretion to desire it, nor malice to deserve it, whose life nor liberty can

can by any lawful processe stand in danger : and hee that taketh one out of Sanctuary to do him good, I say plainely hee breake-
keth no Sanctuary.

When the Duke had done, the temporall men wholly, and the most part of the spirituall men also, thinking no hurt earthly meant toward the yong Babe, condescend in effect, that if hee were not delivered hee should be fetched out. Howbeit, they thought it best in avoiding of all manner of rumour, that the Cardinall should first assay, to get him with her good will. And thereupon all the Councell came to the Star-Chamber at *Westminster*, and the Cardinall leaving the Protector and other Lords in the Starre-Chamber, departed into the Sanctuary to the Queen, accompanied with certaine Lords, were it for the respect

of his honour, or that shee should by the persons of so many, perceive that his errand was not onely one mans minde, or were it for that the Protector intended not in this matter to trust one man alone, or else if she finally were determined to keepe him, some of the company had peradventure some secret instruction incontinent, mauger her will, to take him, and to leave her no respite to conveigh him.

When the Queene and these Lords were come together in presence, the Cardinall shewed unto her, that it was thought to the Lord Protector and the whole Councell, that her keeping of the Kings Brother in that place highly sounded, not onely to the grudge of the people, and their obloquy, but also to the importable grieffe and displeasure of the Kings Royall Majesty,

Majesty, to whose Grace it were a singular comfort to have his naturall Brother in company, and it was to both their dishonours, and hers also, to suffer him in Sanctuary, as though the one Brother stood in danger and perill of the other. And hee shewed her farther, that the whole Councell had sent him to require of her the delivery of him, that hee might be brought to the Kings presence at his liberty out of that place, which men reckoned as a prison, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate and degree, and she in this doing, should both do great good to the Realme, pleasure to the Councell, profit to her selfe, succour to her friends that were in distresse, and over that, which he knew well she specially tendered, not onely great comfort and honour to the King, but

also to the young Duke himselfe, both whose great weale it were to be together, aswel for many greater causes, as also for both their disport and recreation, which things the Lords esteemed not light, though it seemed light, well pondering that their youth without recreation and play cannot endure, nor any stranger for the convenience of both their ages and estates so meet in that point for any of them, as the either of them for the other.

My Lord (quoth the Queen)
I say not nay, but that it were very convenient that this Gentleman whom you require were in the company of the King his Brother, and in good faith, me thinketh it were as great commodity to them both, as for yet a while to be in the custody of their Mother, the tender age considered of the elder of them

them both, but especially the younger, which besides his infancie, that also needeth good looking to, hath a while beene so sore diseased with sicknesse, and is so newly, rather little amended then well recovered, that I dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping, but my selfe onely, considering there is, as Physicians say, and as wee also finde, double the perill in the resiliuation that was in the first sicknesse, with which disease Nature being sore laboured, forewearied and weakned, waxeth the lesse able to beare out a new surfeit. And albeit there might bee found other that would haply doe their best unto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him then I, that so long have kept him, or is more tenderly like to cherish him, then his owne Mo-

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ther

ther that bare him. No man denyeth, good Madame, quoth the Cardinall, that your Grace of all folke were most necessary about your children, and so would all the Councell, not onely be content, but also glad that it were, if it might stand with your pleasure, to be in such place as might stand with their honour. But if you appoint your selfe to tarry here, then thinke they it more convenient, the Duke of Yorke were with the King honourably at his liberty to the comfort of them both, then here as a Sanctuary man to both their dishonors and obloquy, sith there is not alway so great necessity to have the child with the Mother, but that occasion sometime may be such, that it should be more expedient to keep him elsewhere, which in this well appeareth, that at such time
that

that your most dearest sonne
then Prince and now King,
should for his honour and good
order of the Country keepe
household in *Wales* farre out of
your keeping, your Grace was
well content therewith your
selfe. Not very well content
(quoth the Queene) and yet
the case is not like, for the one
was then in health, the other is
now sicke, in which case I mar-
vell greatly why my Lord Pro-
tector is so desirous to have him
in keeping, where if the childe
in his sicknesse miscarried by
nature, yet might hee run into
slander and suspicion of fraud.
And they call it a thing so fore
against my chilles honour and
theirs also, that hee abideth in
this place, it is all their ho-
nours, there to suffer his abode,
where no man doubteth he shall
be best kept, and that is heere
while I am here, which as yet
intend

intend not to come forth and danger my selfe after other my friends, which would God were rather here in surety with me, then I were there in danger with them.

Why Madame (quoth the Lord *Howard*) know you any thing, why they should bee in danger? Nay verily (quoth she) nor why they should be in prison neither, as they now be, but I trow it is no great marvell, though I feare lest those that have not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause. The Cardinall made a countenance to the Lord *Howard*, that he should harpe no more upon that string; and then said hee to the Queene, that he nothing doubted, but those Lords of her kinne, the which remained under arrest, should upon the
matter

matter examined doe well enough, and as toward her Noble person, neither was, nor could be any manner of danger.

Whereby should I trust that (quoth the Queene) in that I am guiltlesse, as though they were guilty, in that I am with their enemies better beloved then they, when they hate them for my sake, in that I am so neere to the King, and how farre be they off that would helpe, as God send Grace they hurt not. And therefore as yet I purpose not to depart hence : As for this Gentleman, my son, I minde he shall bee where I am till I see further, for I see some men so greedy without any substantiall cause to have him, which maketh mee much more warie and scrupulous to deliver him.

Truly Madame (quoth the Cardi-

Cardinall) the further that yee be to deliver him, the further be other men to suffer you to keepe him, lest your causelesse feare might cause you farther to conveigh him, and many thinke he can here have no priviledge, which can have neither will to aske it, nor yet malice or offence to need it. And therefore, they reckon no priviledge broken, although they fetch him out of Sanctuary, which if you finally refuse to deliver him, I thinke verily the Councell will enfranchise him, so much dread hath my Lord his Uncle, for the tender love he beareth him, lest your Grace should send him away.

Ah, quoth the Queene, hath hee so tender a zeale to him, that hee feareth nothing, but lest hee should escape him? Thinketh hee, that I would send him hence, which is neither

ther in the plight to send out ?
and in what place could I reckon him sure, if he be not sure in this Sanctuary ? whereof was there never Tyrant yet so devillish, that durst attempt to breake the priviledge, and I trust God is now as strong to withstand his adversaries as ever he was. But my sonne can deserve no Sanctuary, you say, and therefore hee can not have it, forsooth the Lord Protector hath sent a goodly glose, by the which that place that may defend a theefe, may not save an innocent : but he is in no danger, nor hath no need thereof, I would God hee had not. Troweth the Protector, (I pray God he may prove a Protector, rather then a destroyer, whereunto his painted processe draweth) that it is not honourable that the Duke bide here ? it were more comfortable to them

them both, that he were with his Brother, because the King lacketh a play-fellow, yea be sure, I pray God send him better play-fellowes then him that maketh so high a matter upon such a trifling pretext, as though there could none bee found to play with the King, but that his Brother, w^{ch} hath no lust to play for sicknesse, must come out of Sanctuary, out of his safeguard, to play with him; as though that Princes so young as they be, could not play without their Peeres, or children could not play without their kindred, with whom for the most part they agree much worse then with strangers. But the childe, you say, cannot require the privilege, who told the Protector so? Aske him, and you shall heare him aske it, and so shall hee, if yee will. Howbeit, this
is

is a strange matter; suppose hee could not aske it, and thinke he would not aske it, and imagine he would aske to goe out, if I say he shall not: Note, if I aske the priviledge for my selfe, I say, that hee that against my will taketh out him, breaketh Sanctuary. Serveth this liberty for my person onely, or for my goods too? you may not from hence take my Horse from me, if I stale him not nor owe you nothing: then followeth it, that you may not take my childe from me, hee is also my ward, for as farre as my learned Councell sheweth me, he hath nothing by descent holden by Knights service, but by socage: then the Law maketh me his guardian, then may no man lawfully (I suppose) take my ward from mee out of this place, without the breach of Sanctuary, and if my priviledge

ledge could not serve him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet sith the Law committeth to me the custody of him, I may require it for him, except the Law give the Infant a guardian onely for his goods, discharging him of the care and safe-keeping of his body, for which onely both goods and lands serve: Wherefore here intend I to keep him, sith mans Law serveth the guardian to keepe the infant, and the Law of Nature willeth the Mother to keep the child, and Gods Law priviledgeth the Sanctuary, and the Sanctuary priviledgeth my Sonne, sith I feare to put him to the Protectors hands, that hath his Brother already, which is (if both failed.) inheritor to the Crowne as heire Male, as hee saith. The cause of my feare no man hath to doe to examine, and yet feare I no further then

then the Law feareth, which as learned men tell mee, forbiddeth every man the custody of them, by whose death he may inherit lesse Land then a Kingdome.

I can say no more, but who-soever hee be that breaketh this holy Sanctuary, I pray God send him shortly need of Sanctuary, when he may not come to it, for I would not that my mortall enemy should be taken out of Sanctuary.

The Cardinall perceived that the Queene ever the longer the farther off, and also that shee began to kindle and chafe, and speak sore biting words against the Protector, and such as hee neither beleevd, and also was loth to heare, he said to her, for a finall conclusion, that hee would no more dispute the matter, and if she were content to deliver the Duke to him, and
to

to the other Lords there present, hee durst lay his owne body and soule both in pledge, not onely for his surety, but also for his estate, and surely he knew nor suspected any cause but he might so doe (but hee knew not all.) And further he said, if shee would give him a resolute answer to the contrary, hee would therewith depart incontinent, and shift who so would with his businesse afterward, for he never intended further to move her in the matter, in the which shee thought that he and all other also, save her selfe, lacked either wit or dull truth; Wit, if they were so that they nothing could perceive what the Protector intended, and if they should procure her sonne to be delivered into his hands, in whom they should perceive towards the child any evill will intended, then shee might

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might thinke all the Councell
both evill advised, and of little
fidelity to their Prince.

The Queene with these
words stood in a great study,
and forasmuch as she saw the
Lord Cardinall more readie
to depart then the remnant,
and the Protector himselfe rea-
dy at hand, so that shee verily
thought that shee could not
keepe him there, but he should
bee incontinent taken thence,
and to conveigh him elsewhere,
neither had shee time to serve
her, nor place determined, nor
persons appointed to conveigh
him, and so all things were un-
ready, when this message came
so suddenly on her, nothing
lesse looking for, then to have
him out of Sanctuary, which
she knew now men to be set in
all places about, that hee could
not be conveighed out untaken,
and party as shee thought it
might

might fortune her feare to bee false: so well shee knew it was either needlesse or bootlesse. Wherefore, if shee should needs goe from him, shee deemed best to deliver him, and especially of the Cardinals faith shee nothing doubting, nor of some other Lords whom shee saw there, which as she feared lest they might be deceived, so well was she assured, that they would not be corrupted: then thought she that it would make them the more warily to looke to him, and the more circum-spectly to see his surety, if shee with her owne hands betooke him them by trust, and at the last she tooke the young Duke by the hand, and said unto the Lords, my Lord (quoth shee) and all my Lords, neither am I so unwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of the which thing

thing I purpose to make such a
prose, that if either of both
lacked in you, might turn both
me to great sorrow, the Realm
to much harme, and you to
great reproach. For loe, here
is, quoth mee, this Gentleman
whom I doubt not, but I could
keepe safe if I would, whatsoe-
ver any man say, and I doubt
not also, but there be some a-
broad so deadly enemies unto
my Bloud, that if they knew
where any of it lay in their
owne body, they would let it
out: wee have also experience,
that the desire of a Kingdome
knoweth no kindred, the Bro-
ther hath bene the Brothers
bane, and may the Nephewes
be sure of the Uncle? each of
these children are others de-
fence, while they be asunder,
and each of their lives lyeth in
others body, keepe one safe and
both be sure, and nothing to
both

both more perilous then both
to be in one place: for a wise
Merchant never adventureth
all his goods in one Ship. All
this notwithstanding, here I
deliver him and his Brother in
him, to keepe to your hands,
of whom I shall aske themboth
before God and the world.
Faithfull you be, and that I
know well, and I know you be
wise, and of power and strength
if you list to keep him, for you
lacke no helpe of your selves,
nor need to lacke no helpe in
this case, and if you cannot
else-where, then may you leave
him here: But onely one thing
I beseech you, for the trust that
his Father put you in ever, and
for the trust I put you in now,
that as far as you thinke that I
feare too much, yee bee well
ware that you feare not too lit-
tle. And therewithall she said
to the Childe, Farewell mine
owne

owne sweet Sonne, God send
you good keeping, let me once
kisse you ere you goe, for God
knoweth when we shall kisse to-
gether againe, and therewith
she kissed him, and blessed him,
and turned her backe and wept,
going her way, leaving the
poore innocent childe weeping
as fast as the Mother.

When the Cardinall and the
other Lords had received the
young Duke, they brought him
into the Star-Chamber, where
the Protector tooke him into
his armes, and kissed him with
these words; now welcome my
Lord with all my very heart,
and hee said in that of likeli-
hood even as hee inwardly
thought, and thereupon forth-
with brought him to the King
his Brother into the Bishops
Palace at *Pauls*, and from
thence through the Citie hono-
rably into the Tower, out of
F which

which after that day they never came abroad. When the Protector had both the children in his possession, yea and that they were in a sure place, he then began to thirst to see the end of his enterprife. And to avoid all suspicion, hee caused all the Lords which hee knew to be faithfull to the King, to assemble at *Baynards Castle*, to commune of the order of the Coronation, while he and other of his complices and of his affinity, at *Crosbies Place*, contrived the contrary, and to make the Protestour King; to which Councell there were adhibited very few, and they very secret.

Then began here and there some muttering amongst the people, as though all things should not long be well, though they knew not what they feared, nor wherefore: were it,
that

that before such great things, mens hearts (of a secret instinct of Nature) misgave them, as the South wind sometime swel- leth of it selfe before a Tem- pest: or were it that some one man haply somewhat percei- ving, filled many men with su- spition, though hee shewed few men what he knew: howbeit, the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the Councel were close, for by little and litt'e all folke drew from the Tower where the King was, and drew to *Crosbies Place*, so that the Protector had all the resort, & the King was in man- ner desolate. While some made suit unto them that had the do- ing, some of them were by their friends secretly warned, that it might haply turn to no good to them, to be too much attendant on the King without the Pro- tectors appointment, which

removed diuerſe of the kings
old ſervants from him, and
ſet new in their places about
him.

- Thus many thinges com-
ming together, partly by
chance, and partly by purpoſe,
cauſed at length, not common
people onely, which waue
with the wind, but wiſe men
alſo and ſome Lords to marke
the matter and muſe therupon:
in ſomuch that the Lord *Stan-
ley*, which afterward was Earle
of *Derby*, wiſely miſtruſted it,
and ſaid to the Lord *Hastings*,
that he much miſliked theſe two
ſeverall Counſels: for while we,
quoth he, talke of one matter
at the one place, little know
we whereof they talke in the
other: peace, my Lord, quoth
the Lord *Hastings*, on my life,
never doubt you, for while one
man is there, which is never
thence, neither can there bee a-
ny

ny thing once minded that should sound amisse towards me, but it should be in my eares as soone as out of their mouths. This hee meant by *Catesby*, which was neere of his seeret counsell, and whom hee most familiarly used in his weighty matters, putting no man in so speciall trust as hee, reckoning himselfe to bee beloved of no man more then he; knowing well that there was no man so much beholding to him as was this *Catesby*, which was a man well learned in the lawes of this Realme, and by the speciall favour of the Lord *Hastings* in good authority; and bore much rule in the countries of *Leicester & Northampton*, where the Lord *Hastings* power lay. But surely great pittie was it that he had not more thruth or lesse wit, for his dissimulation onely, kept all that mischiefe

up, in whom if the Lord *Hastings* had not put so speciall trust, the L. *Stanley* and he, with divers other Lords, had departed into their countries and broken all the dance, for many evill signes that hee saw, which hee now constructed all for the best; so surely thought he that there could be no harme intended towards him in that coun- cill where *Catesby* was. And of truth the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham* did seeme to shew very much countenance unto the Lord *Hastings*, and kept him often in their compa- ny. And undoubtedly the Pro- tector loved him well, and loth he was to have lost him, saving for feare lest his life should have quailed their purpose; for the which cause hee moved *Catesby* to prove with some words cast out a farre off, whe- ther hee could thinke it possible
to.

to winne the Lord *Hastings* to their part. But *Catesby*, whether hee assayed him or assayed him not, reported unto him that hee found him so fast, and heard him speake so terrible words, that he durst no further breake unto him: and of a truth the Lord *Hastings* of very trust shewed unto *Catesby* the mistrust that others began to have in the matter. And therefore he fearing least their motions might with the Lord *Hastings* diminish his credit, whereunto onely all the matter leaned; procured the Protector hastily to rid him, and much the rather, for he trusted by his death to obtaine much of the rule which the Lord *Hastings* bare in his countrey; the onely desire whereof, was the the thing that induced him to bee procurer, and one of the specia-
lest contrivers of all this horri-

ble treason. Whereupon the Lord Protector caused a Councell to bee set at the Tower on the friday the thirteenth day *June*, where was much communing for the honorable solemnitie of the Coronation, of the which the time appointed approached so neare, that the Pageants were amaking day and night at *Westminster*, and vi-tailles killed, which afterwards was cast away.

These Lords thus sitting communing of this matter, the Protector came in among them about nine of the clocke, saluting them curteously, excusing himselfe that hee had beene from them so long, saying merrily that he had beene a sleeper that day. And after a little talking with them, he said to the Bishop of *Ely*, my Lord, you have very good strawberies in your garden at *Holbourne*, I require

require you let us have a messe
of them. Gladly my Lord
quoth he) I would I had some
better thing as ready at your
pleasure as that, and with that
in all hast he sent his servant for
a dish of Strawberies. The Pro-
tectour set the Lords fast on
communings, and thereupon
prayed them to spare him a lit-
tle, and so he departed and came
again between ten and eleven
of the clocke into the chamber,
all changed with a fowre angry
countenance, knitting the
browes, frowning and fretting,
gnawing of his lips; and so set
him downe in his place. All the
Lords were dismayed, and sore
marvelled at this manner and
suddaine change, what hee
should say. When he had sit-
ten a while, thus hee began.
What were they worthy to
have, that compasse and imagine
the destruction of mee being so

neare of blood to the King and Protector of this his Royall Realme? At which question, all the Lords sate fore astonied, musing much by whom the question should bee meant, of which every man knew himself cleere.

Then the Lord *Hastings*, who for the familiarity that was betweene them, thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said, that they were worthe to be punished as haynous traytors whatsoever they were, and all the other affirmed the same: that is (quoth he) yonder Sorceresse, my brothers wife, & others with her, meaning the Queene: at these words many of the Lords were fore abashed which favored her, but the Lord *Hastings* was better content in his minde, that it was moved by her, then by any other that hee loved better, albeit his heart grudged

grudged that hee was not afore
made of the counsell of this
matter, as well as hee was of the
taking of her kindred, and of
their putting to death, which
were by his assent before devi-
sed to be beheaded at *Pomfret*,
this self same day, in the which
he was not aware that it was
by others devised, that he him-
selfe should the same day be be-
headed at *London*: then said the
Protectour, See in what wise
that Sorceresse, and others of
her counsell, as *Shores* wife
with her affinitie, have by their
forcery and witchcraft thus
wasted my body: and therewith
plucked up his doublet sleeve
to his elbow on his left arme,
where hee shewed a werish wi-
thered arme, and small, as it was
never other. And therefor eve-
ry mans minde misgave them,
well perceiving that this mat-
ter was but a quarrell; for
they

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they knew that the Queene was both too wise to goe about any such folly, & also if she would, yet she would not make *Shores* wife of her counsell, whom of al women she most hated; as that concubine whom the King her husband most loved.

Also, there was no man there but knew that his arme was ever such since the day of his birth: Neverthelesse the Lord *Hastings*, which from the death of King *Edward* kept *Shores* wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the Kings life, saving it is said that he forbare her for reverence towards his King, or else of a certaine kind of fidelity towards his friend; Yet now his heart somewhat grudged to have her whom hee loved so highly accused, and as he knew well, untruly; therefore he answered and said, certainly my Lord, if they have
so

so done, they bee worthy of
haynous punishment. What,
quoth the Protector, thou ser-
vest mee; I thinke, with if and
with and, I tell thee they have
done it, and that I will make
it good on thy body, traytor.
And therewith (as in a great
anger) he strooke his fist on the
boord a great rappe; at which
token given, one cryed treason
without the chamber, and ther-
with a doore clapped, and men
in armes came rushing in, as
many as the chamber could
hold. And anone the Protector
said to the Lord *Hastings*, I-
rest thee Traytour: what me my
Lord, quoth he? yes thou Tray-
tour, quoth the Protector. And
one let fly at the Lord *Stanley*,
who shrunke at the stroke, and
fell under the Table, or else his
head had been cleft to the teeth,
for as suddenly as he shrunk, yet
the blood ran about his eares.

Then

Then was the Archbishop of *Torke*, and Doctour *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Stanley* and divers others taken, and bestowed in severall chambers, save the Lord *Hastings* (whom the Protector commanded to speede and shrive him apace) for by Saint *Paul* (quoth he) I will not dine till I see thy head off. It booted him not to aske why, but heavily hee tooke a Priest at adventure, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much hast to his dinner, who might not goe to it till this murther were done, for saving of his ungracious oath. So was hee brought forth into the greene besides the Chappell within the Tower, and his head layed downe on a logge of timber that lay there for building of the Chappell, and there tyr-

ran-

rannously stricken off; and after his body and head were entered at *Wind/or* by his Master King *Edward* the fourth, Late deceased.

A miraculous case it is to heare, either the warnings that he should have avoyded, or the tokens of that hee could not avoid. For the next night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent to him a trusty messenger at midnight in all the haste, requiring him to rise and ride away with him, for hee was disposed utterly no longer for to abide, for he had a fearefull dreame in the which hee thought that a Bore with his tuskes so rased them both by the heads, that the blood ran about both their shoulders; and for asmuch as the Protectour gave the Bore for his cognisance, hee imagined that it should be he. This dreame made such a fearefull im-

impression in his heart, that he was thoroughly determined no longer to tarry, but had his horse ready, if the Lord *Hastings* would goe with him. So that they would ride so farre that night, that they should bee out of danger by the next day. A good Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings*) to the messenger, leaue my Lord thy Master so much to such trifles, and hath hee such faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fantasie, or doe rise in the nights rest by reason of the daies thought. Tell him it is plaine witchcraft to beleeeve in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh hee not that wee might as likely make them true by our going if we were caught and brought backe, (as friends flyers) for then had the bore a cause likely to rase us with his tuskes,

tuskes, as folkes that fled for
some falshood: wherfore either
there is perill, but indeed there
is none, or if any be, it is rather
in going then abiding. And if
wee must needs fall into perill
one way or other, yet had I
rather that men should see it
were by other mens falshood,
then thinke it were either our
owne fault or faint feeble heart,
and therefore goe to thy Mai-
ster and commend me to him,
and tell him I pray him to bee
merry and have no feare, for I
assure him, I am assured of the
man he wotteth of, as I am sure
of mine owne hand. God send
grace (quoth the messenger)
and so departed. Certaine it is
also, that in riding towards the
Tower the same morning in
which he was beheaded, his
horse that hee accustomed to
ride on, stumbled twice or
thrice almost to the falling,
which

which thing although it hap-
peneth to them daily to whom
no mischance is towards, yet
hath it beene as an old evill to-
ken observed as a going toward
mischiefe. Now this that fol-
loweth was no warning, but an
envious scorne: the same mor-
ning before he was up from his
bed, where *Shores* wife lay
with him all night, there came
to him sir *Thomas Haward* son
to the Lord *Haward* (which
Lord was once of the priviest of
the Lord Protector's counsell
and doing) as it were of curte-
sie to accompany him to the
councell, but of truth sent by
the Lord Protector to haile
him thitherward.

This sir *Thomas*, while the
Lord *Hastings* stayed a while
commoning with a Priest who
he met in *Towerstreete*, brake
the Lords tale, saying to him
merrily, what my Lord I pray
you

you come on, wherefore talke
you so long with that Priest,
you have no neede of a Priest
yet, and laughed upon him, as
though he would say, you shall
have neede of one soone: But
little thought the other what
hee meant (but before night
these words were well remem-
bred by them that heard them)
so the true Lord *Hastings* little
mistrusted, and was never meri-
er, nor thought his life in more
suretie in all his dayes, which
thing is often a signe of change:
but I shall rather let any thing
passe mee then the vaine surety
of mans minde so neere his
death; for upon the very *Tow-
erwharfe*, so neere the place
where his head was off so soone
after, as a man might cast a ball,
a Pursieuant of his owne called
Hastings met with him; and of
their meeting in that place hee
was put in remembrance a-
nother

nother time, in which it happened them to meete before together in the place, at which time the Lord *Hastings* had been accused to King *Edward* by the Lord *Rivers* the Queenes brother, insomuch that he was for a while, which lasted not long, highly in the Kings indignation, as hee now met the same Purservant in the same place, the jeoperdie so well passed, it gave him great pleasure to talke with him thereof, with whom he had talked in the same place of that matter, and therefore he said; Ah *Hastings*, art thou remembered when I met thee here once with a heavie heart? Yea my Lord (quoth he) that I remember well, and thanks bee to God they got no good, nor you harme thereby, thou wouldest say so (quoth hee) if thou knewest so much as I do, which few know yet, and more shall
 shortly

shortly; that meant he that the Earle Rivers, and the Lord Richard, and Sir Thomas Vaughan, should that day be beheaded at Pomfret, as they were indeed, which act he knew well should be done, but thought not that the Axe hang so neere his owne head.

In faith man (quoth hee) I was never so fery, nor never stood in so great danger of my life, as I did when thou and I met here, and loe the world is turned now, now stand mine enemies in the danger, as thou maist hap to heare more hereafter, and I never in my life merrier, nor never in so great surety. I pray God it prove so (quoth Hastings) prove, quoth he? doubttest thou that? nay, nay, I warrant thee; and so in manner displeased, hee entred into the Tower, where he was not long alive, as you have heard.

heard. O Lord God, the blindness of our mortall nature, when he most feared, he was in most surety, and when he reckoned himselfe most sure, hee lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honourable man, a good Knight and gentle, of great authority with his Prince, of living somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enemy, and sure and secret to his friend, easie to beguile, as hee that of good heart and courage foresaw no perils, a loving man and passing well beloved, very faithfull, and trusty enough, but trusting too much was his destruction, as you may perceive.

Now flew the fame of this Lords death through the City, and farther about, like a wind in every mans eare; but the Protector immediately after dinner

dinner (intending to set some colour upon the matter) sent in all the haste for many substantiall men out of the City into the Tower, and at their comming, himselfe with the Duke of *Buckingham*, stood harnessed in old ill-favoured Briganders, such as no man would thinke that they would have vouchsafed to have put on their backs, except some sodaine necessity had constrained them. Then the Lord Protector shewed them, that the Lord *Hastings* and other of his conspiracie, had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the Duke of *Buckingham* there the same day in Councel, and what they intended farther, was yet not well known, of which their treason hee had never knowledge before ten of the clock the same forenoone, which sodaine feare drave them

to

to put on such harnesse as came next to their hands for their defence, and so God holpe them, that the mischiete turned upon them that would have done it, and thus he required them to report. Every man answered faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which of truth no man beleaved. Yet for the further appeasing of the peoples mindes, hee sent immediately after dinner an Herald of Armes with a Proclamation through the Citarie of *London*, which was proclaimed in the Kings Name, that the Lord *Hastings*, with divers other of his trayterous purpose, had before conspired, the same day, to have slaine the Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, sitting in Council; and after to have taken upon them the rule of the King and the Realme at their pleasure,

sure, and thereby to pill and
spoil whom they list uncon-
trouled, and much matter was
devised in the same Procla-
mation to the slander of the Lord
Hastings, as that he was an e-
vill Councillor to the Kings
Father, enticing him to many
things highly redounding to
the diminishing of his honour,
and to the universall hurt of his
Realme, by his evill company,
and sinister procuring, and un-
gracious example, aswell in
many other things, as in viti-
ous living, and inordinate a-
busing of his body, both with
many other, and especially
with *Shores* wife, which was
one of his secret Councell in
this heinous treason, with
whom hee lay nightly, and
namely the night passed next
before his death, so that it was
the lesse marvell, if ungracious
living brought him to an un-
G happy

happy end, which he was now put to by the command of the Kings Highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull Counsell, both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his false contrived treason, and also lest the delaying of his execution might have encouraged other mischievous persons partners of his conspiracie, to gather and assemble themselves together in making so great commotion for his deliverance, whose hope now, being by his well deserved death politickly repressed, all the Realme shall by Gods grace rest in good quiet and peace.

Now was this proclamation made within two houres after hee was beheaded, and it was so curiously indited, and so faire written in Parchment in a faire set hand, and therewith so large a proceffe, that every child might

might perceive that it was prepared and studied before, and (as some men thought) by *Catesby*, for all the time betweene his death and the publishing of the Proclamation could scarce have sufficed to the bare writing of it alone, albeit that it had beene in paper, and scribbled forth in hast at adventure. So that upon the proclaiming thereof, one that was schoole-master at *Pauls* standing by, and comparing the shortenesse of the time with the length of the matter, said to them that stood about him: here is a gay goodly cast, foully cast away for haste. And a Merchant that stood by him, said, that it was written by inspiration and prophesie. Now then by and by, as it were for anger, and not for covetousnesse, the Protector sent Sir *Thomas Howard* to the house of *Shores* wife (for her

Husband dwelt not with her) which spoyled her of all that ever she had, above the value of two or three thousand Markes, and sent her body to prison. And the Protector had laid to her for the manner sake, that shee was of Councell with the Lord *Hastings* to destroy him. In conclusion, when no colour could fasten upon these matters, then he layed heinously to her charge that thing that shee could not deny, for all the world knew that it was true, and that notwithstanding every man laughed to heare it then so suddenly, so highly taken, that she was naught of her body. And for this cause, as a godly continent Prince, cleane and faultlesse of himselfe, sent out of Heaven into this vicious world, for the amendment of mens manners, hee caused the Bishop of *London* to put her to open

open penance, going before a
crosse one Sunday at proceſſion
with a taper in her hand. In the
which ſhe went in countenance
and pace ſo womanly, and al-
beit ſhe was out of all array ſa-
ving her kirtle onely, yet went
ſhee ſo faire and lovely, and
namely when the wondering of
the people caſt a comly red in
her cheekes, of the which be-
fore ſhe had moſt miſſe, that her
great ſhame woon her much
praiſe amongſt them that were
more amorous of her body, the
curious of her ſoule: and many
good folk that hated her living
and were glad to ſee ſinne cor-
rected, yet pittied they more her
penance then rejoyced at it; whē
they conſidered that the Pro-
tectour did it more of a corrupt
minde then any vertuous af-
fection.

This woman was borne in
London, well friended, honeſtly
G 3 brought

The diſ-
cription
of *Shores*
wife.

brought up, and very well married, saving somewhat too soon, her husband an honest and a young Citizen, godly and of good substance, but forasmuch as they were coupled before she was well ripe, shee not very fervently loved for whom shee never longed, which was the thing (by chance) that the more easily made her to incline to the Kings appetite, when hee required her. Howbeit the respect of his royaltie, the hope of gaine, apparrell, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth was able soone to pierce a soft tender heart: but when the King had abused her, anon her husband being an honest man would not presume to touch a Kings concubine, but left her up to him altogether. When the King died, the Lord *Hastings* tooke her, which in the Kings dayes, albeit that he was fore enamored

red with her yet hee forbare,
either for a princely reuerence,
or for a certaine friendly
faithfulnesse. Proper shee was
and faire, nothing in her body
that you could have changed,
but if you would have wished
her somewhat higher. This
say they that knew her in her
youth, some said and judged
that she had beene well favored,
and some judged the contrary,
whose judgement seemeth like
as men gesse the beauty of one
long before departed, by a
shape taken out of a charnell
house, and this judgement was
in the time of King *Henry* the
eight, in the eighteenth yeare
of whose reigne she dyed, when
she had nothing but a rived
skin & bone. Her beauty pleased
not men so much as her plea-
sant behaviour, for shee had a
proper wit, and could both
read and write, merry in

The description
of King
Edwards
three
Concu-
bines.

company, ready and quicke of answer, neither mute nor full of bable, sometimes taunting without displeasure, but not without disport. King *Edward* would say he had three concubines, which in divers properties diversly excelled, one the merriest, the other the wisest, the third the holiest harlot in the Realme, as one, whom no man could get out of the Church to any place lightly, unlesse it were to his bed, the other two were somewhat greater personages then *Mistress Shore*, and yet nevertheless of their humilitie were content to bee namelesse, and to forbear the praise of these properties. But the merriest was *Shores* wife, in whom the King therefore tooke great pleasure, for many he had, but her hee loved, whose favour to say the truth (for it were sinne to belie the devill) she never abused

used to any mans hurt, but to many mens comfort and reliefe. For where the King tooke displeasure, shee would mitigate and appease his minde, where men were out of favour, shee would bring them into his grace, for many that had highly offended, shee obtained pardon, and of great forfeitures shee gate remission, and finally in many weighty suites shee stood many men in great stead, either for none or for very small reward: and those rather gay then rich, either that shee was content with the deede well done, or for that shee delighted to bee sued unto, and to shew what shee was able to doe with the King, or for that that wanton women and wealthy be not alwaies covetous. I doubt not some men will thinke this woman to be too slight to be written of among grave and weighty

ty matters, which they shall specially thinke that happily saw her in her age and adversity, but we thinke the chance so much more worthy to bee remembered, in how much after wealth she fell to poverty, and from riches to beggery, unfriended, out of acquaintance, after great substance, after so great favour with her Prince, after as great suite and seeking to with all those which in those dayes had businesse to speed, as many other men were in their times, which bee now famous only by the infamy of their evill deedes, her doings were not much lesse, albeit they be much lesse remembered, because they were not evill, for men use to write an evill turne in marble stone, but a good turne in the dust; which is not worst proved by her, for after her wealth she went begging of many that had

had begged themselves if shee had not hope them, such was her chance.

Now was it devised by the Protectour and his Councill, that the same day that the Lord Chamberlain was headed in the Tower of *London*, and about the same houre, should be beheaded at *Pomfret* the Earle *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard* the *Queenes* sonne, sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and sir *Richard Haute*, which as you heard were taken at *Northampton* and *Stony stratford* by the consent of the Lord *Hastings*; which execution was done by the order and in the presence of sir *Richard Ratclif* knight, whose service the Protectour specially used in the Councill, and in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had beene long secret with him, having experience of the world, a notable wit, thort and

and rude in speech, rough and boysterous of behaviour, bold in mischiefe, and as farre from pittie as from all feare of God.

This Knight brought these foure persons to the Scaffold at the day appointed, and shewed to all the people that they were Traitors, not suffering the Lords to speake, and to declare their innocency, lest their words might have inclined men to pitty them, and to hate the Protector and his part, and so without judgement and processe of the Law caused them to bee beheaded without other earthly guilt, but onely they were good men, and true to the King, & too nie to the Queene; insomuch that sir *Thomas Vaughan* going to his death said; A mischeife take them that tooke the prophesie that G. should destroy King *Edwards* children, for *George Duke of Clarence*,

Clarence, Lord *George*, which for that fufpition is now dead, but now remaineth *Richard G. Duke of Gloucefter*, which now I fee is he that fhall and will accomplifh the Prophefie, and deftroy King *Edwards* children, and all their allies and friends, as it appeareth by us this day; whom I appeale to the high tribunall of God for his wrongfull murther, and our true innocency. And then *Ratcliffe* faid, you have well appealed, lay downe your head, yea quoth fir *Thomas*, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and fo that good Knight was beheaded, and the other three, and buried naked in the Monafterie at *Pomfret*.

When the Lord *Hastings* and thofe other Lords and Knights were thus beheaded and rid out of the way, then the Protectour caufed it to bee proclaimed

claimed that the Coronation for divers great and urgent causes should bee deferred till the second day of *November*, for then thought he, that while men mused what the matter meant, and whiles the Lords of the Realme were about him, out of their owne strengths, and while no man knew what to thinke, nor whom to trust, or whether they should have time or space to digest the matter, and make parts; it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of the Crowne, before men could have time to devise any waies to resist. But now was all the studie, how this matter, being of it selfe so haynous, might be first broken to the people in such wise as it might bee well taken.

To this councell they tooke divers, such as they thought
meet

meet to be trusted, and likely to be induced to that part, and able to stand them in stead, either by power or by policie. Among whom, they made of Councill *Edmond Shaw* then Mayor of *London*, which upon trust of his owne advancement, where he was of a proud heart, highly desirous, tooke upon him to frame the Citty to their appetite. Of Spirituall men they tooke such as had wit, and were in authority amongst the people for opinion of their learning, and had no scrupulus conscience. Amongst these had, they tooke *Ralph Shaw* clearke, brother to the Mayor, and *Frier Pinkie*, provinciall of the *Augustine* Friers, both Doctors in Divinity, both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then learning, and yet of more learning then truth. For they were before

fore greatly esteemed among the people, but after that, never none of those two were regarded. *Shaw* made a Sermon in praise of the Protectour before the Coronation, and *Pynkie* made one after the Cornation, both so full of tedious flattery, that no good mans eares could abide them: *Pynkie* in his Sermon so lost his vocye, that hee was faine to leave off and come downe in the midst: Doctor *Shaw* by his Sermon lost his honesty, and soone after his life, for very shame of the world, into the which he durst never after much come abroad: but the Frier feared no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt, and many thinke, that *Pynkie* was not of Councell before the Coronation, but after the common manner fell to flattery after; namely, because his Sermon was not
in-

incontinent upon it, but at S.
Mary Spiale the Easter after.
But certaine it is, that Doctor
Shaw was of Councell in the
beginning, in so much that they
determined that hee should first
breake the matter in a Sermon
at *Paules Crosse*, in which hee
should by the authority of his
Preaching induce the people to
encline to the Protector's ghostly
purpose. But now was all
the labour and study in the de-
vice of some convenient pre-
text, for which the people
should be content to depose the
Prince, and accept the Pro-
tectour for their King. In
which deuers, things they devi-
sed, but the cheife thing, and
the weight of all that invention
rested in this; that they should
alledge bastardy in King *Ed-
ward* himselfe, or in his chil-
dren, or both; so that he should
seeme disabled to inherite the
Crowne

Crowne by the Duke of *Yorke*, and the Prince by him. To lay bastardy in King *Edward* founded openly to the rebuk of the Protectours owne mother, which was mother to them both. For in that point could be no other colour, but to pretend that his owne mother was an Adultresse; but neverthelesse he would that point should be lesse and more finely and closely handled, not even fully plaine and directly, but touched upon craftily, as though men spared in that point to speake all the truth for feare of his displeasure. But that other point concerning the bastardy they devised to surmise in King *Edward* his Children, that hee desired should be openly declared and enforced to the uttermost. The colour and pretext whereof cannot be well perceived, except wee repeate some thing

things long before done about King *Edwards* Marriages.

After King *Edward* the fourth had deposed King *Henry* the sixth, and was in peaceable possession of the Realme; hee determined with himselfe to marry (as was requisite) both for himselfe and for the Realme: he sent the Earle of *Warwick* and divers other noble men in ambassage to the French King, to entreate a marriage betweene the King and *Bona*, sister to the French Queene, then being in France. In which thing the Earle of *Warwick* found the parties so toward and willing, that hee speedily without any difficultie according to his instructions brought the matter to a good conclusion. Now happeneth it in the meane season, there came to make a sute to the King by Petition: Dame *Elizabeth Gray*, (which after was

was his Queene) then a widow, borne of noble blood, specially by her mother, which was Dutches of *Bedford*, and she was married to sir *Richard Woodvile*, Lord *Rivers*, her Father.

Howbeit, this *Elizabeth* being in service with Queene *Margaret* wife to King *Henry* the sixt, was married to one *John Grey* Esquier, whom King *Henry* made Knight at the last battell of Saint *Albons*, but little while hee enjoyed his knighthood, for at the same field he was flaine.

After when King *Edward* was King, and the Earle of *Warwicke* beeing on his Embassage, this poore Lady made her sute to the King to bee restored to such small lands as her husband had given her in joynture; who when the King beheld, and heard her speak, as she was both
faire

faire and of good favour, moderate of stature, well made, and very wise; he not alone pitched on her, but also waxed enamored on her, and taking her secretly aside, began to enter into talking more familiarly, whose appetite when shee perceived, shee vertuously denyed him, but that shee did so wisely, and that with so good manner, and words so well set, that shee rather kindled his desire then quenched it. And finally, after many a meeting & much wooing, and many great promises, she well perceived the Kings affection towards her so greatly increased, that shee durst somewhat the more boldly say her minde, as to him whose heart she perceived more fervently set then to fall off for a word. And in conclusion shee shewed him plaine, that as shee thought her selfe too simple to bee his wife,

so

so shee thought her selfe too good to be his concubine. The King much marvelling at her constancy, as hee that had not bene before elsewhere so stiffely said nay, so much esteemed her continency and chastity, that he set her vertue in stead of possession and riches: And thus taking counsell of his owne desire, determined in haste to marry her.

And after that hee was thus appointed, and had betwene them twaine assured her, then asked he counsell of his secret friends, and that in such manner, that they might easily perceive that it booted them not to say nay. Notwithstanding, the Dutches of York his mother was so sore moved therewith, that she dissuaded that marriage as much as shee possible might: alleaging that it was his honour, profit, and surety,

to

to marry in some noble progeny out of his Realme, whereupon depended great strength to his estate by that affinity, and great possibility of increase of his dominions. And that hee could not well otherwise doe, considering the Earle of *Warwicke* had so farforth entred into the matter already, which was not like to take it well if all his voyage were in such wise frustrate, and his appointment deluded. And she said further, that it was not Princely to marry his owne Subject, no greater occasion leading there unto ; no possessions nor other commoditie depending thereupon, but onely as a rich man would marry his maiden onely for a little wanton dottage upon her person. In which marriage many men commend more the maidens fortune then the mans wisdom:

dome : and yet shee said that there was more honesty , then honour in this marriage ; for asmuch as there is not betweene a Merchant and his maide so great a difference, as betweene a King and his Subject, a great Prince and a poore widdow. In whose person , although there were nothing to bee misliked, yet was there, said shee, nothing so excellent, but that it might bee found in divers other that were more mee (quoth she) for your estate, yea and maidens also , the onely widowhood of Dame *Elizabeth Grey* (although she were in all other points and things convenient for you) should suffice, as I thinke, to refraine you from her marriage, since it is an unfitting thing, and a great blemish to the sacred Majesty of a Prince, that ought as neere to approach priesthood in clean-

cleanneſſe, as he doth in dignity, to be defiled with bigamy in his firſt marriage. The King made his Mother an answer, part in earnest, and part in play merrily, as hee that knew himſelfe out of her rule: and albeit he would gladly that ſhee ſhould take it well, yet was hee at a point in his owne minde, tooke ſhee it well or otherwiſe. Howbeit, ſomewhat to ſatisfie her, hee ſaid, that albeit marriage being a ſpirituell thing, ought rather to be made for the reſpect of God; where his grace inclineth, the parties ought to incline to love together (as he truſted it was in his caſe) rather then for the regard of any temporall advantage: yet nevertheleſſe he deemed this marriage well conſidered not to be unprofitable, for hee reckoned the amity of no earthly Nation to be ſo neceſſary for him, as

H

the

the friendship of his owne, which hee thought likely to beare him so much the more hearty favour, in that hee disdaind not to marry with one of his owne Land: and yet if outward alliance were thought so requisite, he would finde the meanes to enter thereunto much better by other of his kin, where all parties could be contented, then to marry himselfe, wherein hee should never haply love, and for the possibility of possessions lose the fruit and pleasure of this that he had already. For small pleasure taketh a man of all that ever he hath beside, if hee be wived against his appetite, and I doubt not (quoth he) but there be, as you say, others that be in every point comparable with her; and therefore I let not them that like them to marry them, no more is it
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reason that it mislike any man
that I marry where it liketh
me. And I am sure, that my
Cousin of *Warwicke*, neither
loveth me so little, to grudge
at that that I love, nor is so un-
reasonable, to looke that I
should in choice of a wife ra-
ther be ruled by his eye then
by mine owne, as though I
were a ward that were bound
to marry by the appointment
of a Guardian. I would not be
a King with that condition, to
forbeare mine owne liberty in
choice of mine owne marriage.
As for possibility of more inhe-
ritance by new affinity in
strange Lands, is oft the occasi-
on of more trouble then pro-
fit. And wee have already title
by that meanes, as sufficeth to
so much as sufficeth to get and
keepe well in one mans dayes.
That she is a widdow and hath
already children: By God his

bleſſed Lady, I am a Batchelor and have ſome too, and ſo each of us hath a prooffe, that neither of us is like to be barren. And therefore, Madame, I pray you be content, I truſt to God ſhe ſhall bring forth a young Prince that ſhall pleaſe you. And as for the bigamy, let the Biſhop hardly lay it to my charge when I come to take orders, for I underſtand it is forbidden a Priest, but I never knew that it was forbidden a Prince.

The Dutcheſſe with theſe words nothing appeaſed, and ſeeing the King ſo ſet on, that ſhe could not pluck him backe, ſo highly ſhe diſdained it, that, under pretence of her duty toward God, ſhee deviſed to diſturbe this marriage, and rather to helpe, that hee ſhould marry one Dame *Elizabeth Lucie*, whom the King not long before

before had gotten with childe; wherefore the Kings Mother objected openly against this marriage (as it were in discharge of her conscience) that the King was sure to Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and her husband before God, by reason of which words such obstacle was made in that matter, that either the Bishop durst not, or the King would not proceed to the solemnization of the marriage, till his fame were cleerely purged, and the truth well and openly testified. Whereupon Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was sent for, and albeit shee was by the Kings Mother and many other put in good comfort that she was ensured to the King, yet when she was solemnly sworne to say the truth, she confessed she was never ensured. Howbeit, shee said, his Grace spake such loving words to her, that shee ve-

rily hoped, that he would have married her, and if such kinde words had not been, she would never have shewed such kindnesse to him, to let him so kindly get her with child. This examination solemnely taken, it was cleerely proved, that there was no impediment to let the King to marry; wherefore, he shortly after at *Grafton* beside *Stony Stratford* married the Lady *Elizabeth Grey* very privily, which was his enemies wife, and had prayed heartily for his losse, in the which God loved her better, then to grant her her boon, for then had shee not been his wife: And after that shee was crowned Queene, and her father was created Earle *Rivers*, and her sonne created Marquesse *Dorset*. But when the Earle of *Warwicke* understood of this marriage, he took it so highly, that there-
of

of ensued much blood-shed, as is declared before in the Story of *Edward the fourth*.

I have rehearsed this marriage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better appeare upon how slippery a ground the Protector builded his colour, by which he pretended King *Edwards* children to be Bastards: but the invention, as simple as it was, liked them to whom it sufficeth to have somewhat to say, while they were sure to bee compelled to no larger prooffe then themselves list to make.

Now to returne where I left, as I began to shew you, it was by the Protector and his Councell concluded, that this Doctor *Sham* should in a Sermon at *Pauls Crosse* signifie to the people, that neither King *Edward*, himselfe, nor the Duke of *Gla*

rence were lawfully begotten, nor were the very children of the Duke of *Yorke*, but begotten unlawfully by other persons by adultery of the Dutchesse their Mother. And Dame *Elizabeth Lucy* was the very wife of King *Edward*, and so Prince *Edward* and all the children begotten on the Queen were Bastards. And according to this device, Doctor *Shaw* the Sunday after, at *Paules Crosse*, in a great audience (as alwayes a great number assembled to his preaching) came into the Pulpit, taking for his Theme, *Spuria vitulina non dabunt radices altos, Sapient.* 4. that is to say, Bastard slippes shall never take deepe rootes : Whereupon when he had shewed the great grace that God giveth, and secretly infundeth in right generation after the Lawes of Matri-

Matrimony, then declared hee,
that those children commonly
lacked that grace and (for the
punishment of their parents)
were for the most part unhap-
py, which were illegitimate, and
especially in adultery , of
which though some (by the
ignorance of the world, and
truth hid from knowledge)
have inherited for a season
other mens Lands, yet God al-
wayes so provideth , that it
continueth not in their blood
long, but the truth coming
to light, the rightfull inheri-
tors be restored and the bastard
slippes plucked up ere it can be
rooted deepe. And when hee
had layed for the prooffe and
confirmation of this sentence,
examples taken out of the old
and new Testament and other
ancient Histories, then began he
to descend to the praise of the
Lord *Richard Duke of Yorke,*

calling him father to the Protector, and declared his Title to the Crowne by inheritance, and also by entaile authorised by Parliament after the death of King *Henry* the sixth. Then shewed he, that the Lord Protector was only the right heire of his body lawfully begotten. Then declared hee, that King *Edward* was never lawfully married to the Queene, but his wife before God, was Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*, and so his children were Bastards. And besides that, that neither King *Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence* (amongst them that were secret in the Duke of *Yorke*s household) were never reckoned surely to be the children of the Noble Duke, as those that by their favours more resembled other knowne men, then him; from whose vertuous conditions, hee said also,

also, that King Edward was farre off. But the Lord Protector (quoth hee) that very Noble Prince, the speciall Patron of Knightly Prowesse, as well in all Princely behavior, as in the lineaments and favour of his visage, representeth the very face of the Noble Duke his Father. This is (quoth he) the Fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very print of his visage, the sure undoubted image, the plaine expresse likenesse of that Noble Duke.

Now was it before devised, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should have come in amongst the people to the Sermon, to the end, that these words so meeting with his presence, might have beene taken amongst the hearers, as though the Holy Ghost had put them in the Preachers mouth,

mouth, and should have moved the people even there to have cryed, King *Richard*, that it might have been after said, that he was specially chosen by God, and in manner by miracle: but this device quailed, either by the Protectors negligence, or the Preachers over-hasty diligence. For while the Protector, found by the way tarrying, lest he should have prevented these words, the Doctor fearing that he should come ere his Sermon could come to those words, hastening his matter thereto, he was come to them and past them, and entred into other matters ere the Protector came, whom when hee beheld coming, hee left the matter in hand, and out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeat those words againe: This is the very Noble Prince, the especiall Patrone
of

of Knightly prowesse, which
aswell in all Princely behavi-
viour, as in the lineaments and
favour of his visage, represen-
teth the very face of the Noble
Duke of *York* his father. This is
his Fathers owne figure, this is
his owne countenance, the very
print of his visage, the sure un-
doubted image, the plaine ex-
presse likenesse of that Noble
Duke, whose remembrance can
never dye while hee liveth :
While these words were spea-
king, the Protector accompa-
nied with the Duke of *Buck-*
ingham, went through the peo-
ple up into the place where the
Doctors stand, where they
heard out the Sermon : but the
people were so farre from cry-
ing King *Richard*, that they
stood as they had beene turned
into stones for wonder of this
shamefull Sermon : after which
once ended, the Preacher gat
him

him home and never after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight as an owle, and when hee asked any of his old friends, what the people talked of him, although that his owne conscience will shew him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in every mans mouth of him much shame spoken, it so strooke him to the heart, that in few dayes after hee withered away.

Then on the Tuesday after, next following this Sermon, being the seventeenth day of *June*, there came to *Guild Hall London*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and divers Lords and Knights, more then happily knew the message that they brought. And at the East end of the Hall where the Hoystings be kept, the Duke and the Major and the other Lords late
downe,

downe, and the Aldermen also, all the commons of the Citty being assembled and standing before them. After silence commanded upon a great paine in the Protectours name : The Duke stood up, and as hee was well learned and of nature marvelously well spoken, he said to the people with a cleare and a loud voyce : Friends, for the the zeale and hearty favour that we bare you, we bee come to breake off a matter right great and weightie, and no lesse weightie then pleasing to God, and profitable to the Realme, nor to no part of the Realme more profitable, then to you the Citizens of this noble Citie. For why, the thing that you have long lacked, and as we well know, sore longed for, that you would have gone farre to fetch : that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labour,

bour, paine, cost, adventure, or danger. What thing is that? Certainly the surety of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wives and daughters, and the safegard of your wives and daughters, and the safegard of your goods: Of all which things in times past you stood in doubt. For who was hee of you all that could reckon himselfe Lord of his owne goods, amongst so many gynnes and trappes as were set for them, among so much pilling and polling, among so many taxes and talliages, of the which there was never end, and often times no neede, or if any were, it grew rather of riot, or of unreasonable wast, then any necessary honorable charge, so that there was daily plucked and pilled from good and honest men great substance of goods, to beelashed out among unthrifts, so
farre

farre forth that fiftenees sufficed not, nor any usuall termes of knowne taxes, but under an easie name of benevolence and good will, the commissioners tooke so much of every man, as no man would with his good will have given. As though the name of benevolence had signified, that every man should pay, not what he of himselfe of his good will list to grant, but what the King of his good will list to take, who never asked little, but every thing was haunted above the measure, ameracements turned into fines, fines into treason, where I thinke that no man looketh that wee shall remember you of examples by name, as though *Burdet* were forgotten, which was, for a word spoken, in haste cruelly beheaded. (This *Burdet* was a Merchant dwelling in *Cheape-side* at the signe of the Crowne, which

which now is the signe of the Flower-de-luce over against *Soper-lane* : This man merily in the ruffling time of King Edward the fourths raigne, said to his owne sonne, that hee would make him inheritor of the Crowne, meaning his owne house : but these words King Edward made to be misconstrued, and interpreted that *Burden* meant the Crowne of the Realme : wherfore within lesse space then foure houres, he was apprehended, judged, drawne and quartered in *Cheape-side*, by the misconstruing of the lawes of the Realme for the Princes pleasure ; with no lesse honour to *Markam* chiefe Justice then, which lost his office rather then hee would assent to that judgement.

What neede I to speake of sir *Thomas Cooke*, Alderman and Mayor of this noble Citie? who

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who is of you either for negligence that wotteth not, or so forgetfull that hee remembreth not, or so hard-hearted that he pitttieth not that worshipfull man's losse? what speake I of losse, his wonderfull spoyle and undeserved destruction, onely because it happened him to favour them whom the Prince favoured not. We need not rehearse of these any more by name, sith I doubt not that here be many present, that either in themselves or their nigh friends, aswell their goods as their persons, were greatly endangered either by fained quarrells or small matters aggravated with hainous names, and also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretext. For sith the King preventing the time of his inheritance, attained the Crowne by battell, it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext
of

of treason, to have beene of kindred or aliance, neere of familiaritie, or longer of acquaintance with any of those, that were at any time the Kings enemies, which was at one time or another more then halfe the Realm. Thus were neither your goods nor lands in surety, and yet they brought your bodies in jeopardie, besides the common adventure of open warre; which albeit, that it is ever the will and occasion of much mischief, yet it is never so mischievous, as where any people fall in division, and at distance among themselves: and in no Realme earthly so deadly and so pestilent, as when it happeneth amongst us. And among us never continued so long dissention, nor so many battels in any season, nor so cruell nor so deadly fought as were in the Kings daies that is dead. In
whose

whose time and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the Garland, keeping it, leeing and winning it againe, it hath cost more English blood then hath the twice winning of *France*. In which inward war amongst our selves hath beene so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this Realme, that scarcely the halfe remaineth, to the great enfeebling of this noble land; besides many a good towne ransaked and spoyled by them that have been going to the field, or returning from thence, and peace after, not much surer then warre. So that no time was there in the which rich men for their money, and great men for their lands, or some other for some feare or for some displeasure were out of perill. For whom trusted hee that mistrusted his owne brother? Whom spared hee

hee that killed his owne Brother? Could not such manner of folke that he most favoured doe somewhat (wee shall for his honour spare to speake) howbeit, this you know well all, that whose was best, bare ever the least rule, and more suite in his dayes was to *Shores* wife, a vile and abominable strumpet, then to all the Lords in *England*, except unto those that made her their Protector, which simple woman was yet well named and honest, till the King for his wanton lust and sinfull affection bereft her of her Husband, a right honest man and substantiall amongst you. And in that point, which in good faith I am sory to speake of, saving that it is vaine to keepe in Counsell that thing that all men knowe, the Kings greedy appetite was insatiable, and every where

over

over all the Realme intolerable. For no woman was there any where, young or old, poor or rich, whom he set his eye upon, whom hee any thing liked, either for person or beauty, speech, pace or countenance, but without any feare of God, nor respect of his Honour, nor murmure, nor grudging of the world, hee would importunately pursue his appetite and have her; to the great destruction of many a good woman, and great dolour to their husbands and friends, which being honest people of themselves, so much regarded the cleanness of their houses, the chastity of their wives and children, that they had rather lose all that they had besides, then to have such a villany done to them.

And albeit, that with this and other importable dealing,
the

the Realme was in every place annoyed, yet specially you the Citizens of this Nobility, as for that amongst you is most plenty of such things as minister matter to such injuries, as for that you were neereſt hand, ſith that neere here about was his moſt common abiding. And yet be yee a people whom he had as ſingular a cauſe well and truly to intreat, as any part of his Realme : not onely for that the Prince by this Noble Citie, as of his ſpeciall Chamber and renowned Citie of this Realme, receiveth much honourable fame amongst all other Nations, but alſo for that, you not without your great coſt and ſundry favours and dangers in all his warres, bare ever your eſpeciall favour to his part : which your kinde mindes borne to the houſe of *Yorke*, ſith hee hath nothing

wor-

worthily requirid you, there is
of the houle now which by
Gods grace shall make you full
recompence, which thing to
shew you, is the whole summe
and effect of our arrand. It
shall not neede I hope, to re-
hearse unto you againe that
you have already heard of him
that can better tell it, and of
whom I am sure ye will better
believe it, (and reason it is that
it should bee so) I am not so
proud to looke therefore that
you should receive my words
of so great authority as the
Preachers of the word of God,
namely a man so cunning and
so wise, that no man knoweth
better what hee should doe and
say, and thereto so good and
vertuous that he would not say
the thing, which hee ought not
to say in the pulpit, namely,
into the which no honest man
commeth to lie: which hono-
I rable

rable preacher, ye well remem-
 ber, substantially declared to
 you at *Pauls Crosse* on Sun-
 day last past, the right and title
 of the most excellent Prince
Richard Duke of Gloucester,
 now Protector of this his
 Realme, which he hath unto the
 Crowne of the Kingdome of
 the same. For that worshipfull
 man made it perfectly and
 groundedly open unto you.
 The children of King *Edward*
 the fourth were never lawfully
 begotten, for as much as the
 King (leaving his very wife
 Dame *Elizabeth Lucy*) was ne-
 ver lawfully married to the
 Queene their mother, whose
 blood; saving hee set his volup-
 tuous pleasure before his ho-
 nour, was full unmeetly to bee
 matched with his (the ming-
 ling of which two bloods toge-
 ther, hath beene the effusion
 of a great part of the noble
 blood

blood of this Realme) whereby it may well be seene, that marriage was not well made, of which there is so much mischief growne. For lacke of which lawfull copulation, and also of other things which the said worshipfull Doctor, rather signified then fully explained, and which thing shall not be spoken for me, as the thing that every man forbearth to say that hee knoweth, in avoiding the displeasure that my noble Lord Protector, bearing, as nature requireth a filiall reverence to the Dutches his Mother. For these causes before remembred, I say that for lacke of issue lawfully comming of the late noble Prince *Richard Duke of Yorke*, to whose Royall blood the Crownes of *England* and of *France*, are by the high authority of a parliament entailed, the right and title of the

same is by just course of inheritance according to the common law of this land, devolved and come unto the most excellent Prince the Lord Protector, as to the very lawfull begotten sonne of the fore-remembered noble Duke of *Yorke*. Which thing well considered, and the knightly prowesse with many vertues. which in his noble person singularly doe abound; The Nobles and Commons of this Realme, and specially of the North parts, not willing any bastard blood to have the rule of the land, nor the abuses in the same before used and exercised any longer to continue, have fully condescended and utterly determined to make humble petition unto the puissant Prince the Lord Protector, that it may like his grace at our humble request, to take upon him

him the guiding & government of this Realme, to the wealth and increase of the same, according to his very right and just title; which thing, I know well hee will bee loth to take upon him, as he whose wisdom well perceiveth, the labour and study both of mind and body that shall come therewith to him, whosoever shall occupy that roome. I dare say he will, if he take it (for I warrant you that that roome is no childe's office) and that the great wise man well perceived when he said *Ve regno, cuius Rex puer est*, woe to that Realme whose King is a child; wherefore so much the more cause have we to thanke God, that this noble personage which is so righteously entituled thereto, is of so solid age, and thereto of so great wisdom, joyned with so great experience, which albeit, he will

bee loth as I have said, to take upon him, yet shall hee to our petition in that behalfe the more graciously inclin. if ye the worshipfull Citizens of this Cittie, being the cheife cittie of the Realme, joyne with us the nobles in our said request, which for your owne weale we doubt not but that ye will. And yet neverthelesse, wee pray you so to doe, whereby ye shall doe great profit to all this his Realme: Beside that, in choosing them so good a King, it shall bee to your selfe a speciall commoditie, to whom his Majestie shall ever after beare so much the more tender favour, in how much hee shall perceive you the more prone and benevolently minded towards his election: wherein deare friends, what minde ye have we require you plainly to shew us: When the Duke had said, and looked that

that the people whom he hoped that the Mayor had framed before, should after this flattering proposition made, have cried King *Richard*, King *Richard*, all was still and mute, and not one word answered unto: wherewith the Duke was marvellously abashed, and taking the Mayor neere to him, with other that were about him privie to the matter, said unto them softly; What meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir, quoth the Mayor, perhaps they perceive you not well; that shall we amend, quoth he, if that will helpe, and therewith somewhat lowder rehearsed the same matter againe, in other and other words, so well and orderly, and neverthelesse so evidently and plaine, with voice, gesture, and countenance so comely and so convenient, that every man much marvelled that

heard him, and thought that they never heard in their lives so evill a tale so well told. But were it for feare, or that each looked that other should speake first, not one word was there answered of all the people that stood before, but all were as still as the midnight, not so much as whispering among them, by which they might seeme once to commune what was best to doe. When the Major saw this, hee with other partners of the Councell, drew about the Duke and said, that the people had not beene accustomed there to be spoken unto, but by the Recorder, which is the mouth the Citie, and happily to him they will answer. With that the Recorder, called *Thomas Fitz-william*, a solid man and an honest, which was but newly come to the office, and never had spoken to the people before,

before, and loth hee was with
that matter to beginnd, not-
withstanding, being thereunto
commanded by the Major,
made a rehearfall to the com-
mons of that which the Duke
had twice propoted himselfe;
but the Recorder so tempered
his tale, that hee shewed every
thing as the Dukes words were,
and no part of his owne, but all
this made no change in the
people, which all as one stood
as they had beene amased.
Whereupō, the Duke whispered
with the Major, and said, this is
a marvellous obstinate silence,
and therewith turned to the
people againe with these
words: Deare friends, wee
come to move you to that
thing which peradventure wee
greatly needed not, but that the
Lords of this Realme, and com-
mons of other parts might have
sufficed, saving such love wee

beare you, and so much set by you, that we would not gladly doe without you, that thing in which to bee partners is your weale and honour, which as to us seemeth you see not, or weigh not: Wherefore wee require you to give us an answer, one or other, whether ye be minded, as all the Nobles of the Realme be, to have this Noble Prince now Protector to be your King? And at these words the people began to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voyce was neither lowd nor base, but like a swarme of bees, till at the last, at the nether end of the hall a company of the Dukes servants and one *Nashfield*, & others belonging to the Protector, with some prentises and lads that thrust themselves into the hall amongst the preasse, began suddenly at mens backes to cry out as loude as they could, King

Richard,

Richard, King *Richard*; and there threw up their cappes in token of joy, and they that stood before cast backe their heads marvelling thereat, but nothing they said. And when the Duke and the Major saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly cry and a joyful, to heare every man with one voyce, and no man saying nay. Wherefore friends (quoth the Duke,) sith wee perceive that it is all your whole mindes to have this noble man for your King, whereof wee shall make his grace so effectuall report that we doubt not but that it shall redound to your great wealth and commoditie, Wee therefore require you, that to morrow ye goe with us, and we with you to his Noble Grace, to make our humble Petition and request to him in manner before

fore remmebred. And therewith the Lords came downe, and the company dissolved and departed, the most part all sad, some with glad semblance that were not very merry, and some of them that came with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrow, were faine even at his back to turne their face to the wall, while the dolour of their hearts brast out of their eyes.

Then on the morrow the Major and Aldermen, and chiefe commanders of the Citie in their best manner aparelled, assembling them together at *Pauls*, resorted to *Baynards Castle* where the Protector lay, to which place also according to the appointment repaired the Duke of *Buckingham*, and divers nobles with him, besides many Knights and Gentlemen. And thereupon the Duke sent word to the Lord Protector of the

the being thereof a great honorable company to move a great matter to his Grace. Whereupon the Protector made great difficultie to come downe to them, except hee knew some part of their errand, as though hee doubted, and partly mistrusted the company of such a number to him so suddenly, without any warning or knowledge, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the Duke had shewed this to the Major and others, that they might thereby see how little the Protector looked for this matter; they sent againe by the messenger, such loving message, and therewith so humbly besought him to vouchsafe that they might resort to his presence to propose their intent, of which they would to no other person disclose any part; At the last hee came out of his chamber,
and

and yet not downe to them, but in a galery over them, with a Bishop on each hand of him, where they beneath might see him and speake to him, as though he would not yet come neere them, till hee knew what they meant. And thereupon, the Duke of *Buckingham* first made humble petition to him on the behalfe of them all, that his grace would pardon them, and licence them to shew unto his grace the intent of their comming without his displeasure; without which pardon obtained, they durst not bee so bold to moove him of that matter. In which, albeit they meant asmuch honour to his grace, as wealth to all the Realme besids, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whom in no wise they would offend. Then the Protector, as he was very gentle of himselfe, and

and also longed sore apparently to know what they meant, gave him leave to deliver his message, verily trusting for the good minde that hee bare unto them all, none of them would intend any thing to his hurt, wherewith hee thought to be grieved. When the Duke had this leave and pardon to speak, then waxed hee bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes moving them thereunto, as ye before have heard. And finally, to beseech his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale unto the Realme, now with his eye of pittie to behold the long continued distresse and decay of the same, and set his gracious hand to the redresse and amendment thereof, by taking upon him the Crowne of the Realme according to his right and title lawfully

fully descended unto him, and to the laud of God, profit and surety of the Land, and unto his grace so much the more honour and lesse paine, in that that never prince reigned upon any people that were so glad to live under his obeisance, as the people of this realme under his.

Whē the Protector had heard the Proposition, he looked very strangely there at, and made answer, that albeit he knew partly the things by them alleged to bee true, yet such entire love he bare to King *Edward* and his children, & much more regarded his honour in other Realmes about, then the crowne of any one, of which hee was never desirous, for in all other nations where the truth were not well knowne, it should peradventure bee thought that it were his owne ambitious mind and

and device to deposite the Prince,
and to take the Crowne him-
selfe: with which infamy hee
would in no wise have his ho-
nour stayned for any crowne,
in which he ever had perceived
much more labour and paine,
then pleasure to him that so
would use it, as hee that would
not, and were not worthy to
have it. Notwithstanding, hee
not onely pardoned them of
the motion that they made
him, but also thanked them for
the love and hartly favour they
bare him, praying them for his
sake to beare the same to the
Prince under whom he was and
would bee content to live, and
with his labour and counsaile,
as far as it should like the King
to use it, he would do his utter-
most devoir to set the Realme
in good estate which was al-
ready in the little time of his
Protectorship (prayed be God)

well

well begun; in that the malice of such as were before the occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to bee, were now partly by good policy, partly more by Gods providence, then mans provision, repressed and put under.

Vpon this answer given, the Duke of *Burkingham* by the Protector's licence a little rounded, as well with other noble men about him as with the Major and Recorder of *London*. And after that upon like pardon desired and obtained, he shewed alowd unto the Protector, for a finall conclusion, that the Realme was determined that King *Edwards* line should no longer reigne over them, both that they had so far gone, that it was now no suretie to retreate (as for that they thought it the best way for the whole Realme, although they

had

had not yet begun it.) Wherefore if it would like his Grace to take the Crowne upon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto, and if he would give them a resolute answer to the contrary (which they would be loth to heare) then must they seek, and should not faile to find some other noble man that would. These words much moved the Protector, which, as every man of small intelligence may judge, would never have enclined thereto: but when he saw there was no other way but that he must take it, or else hee and his both to goe from it, hee said to Lords and Commons, sith it is, we perceiue well, that all the Realme is so set (whereof we be very sorry) that they will not suffer in any wise King *Edward* his line to governe them, whom no man earthly can governe against their wills:

And

And we also perceive that there is no man to whom the Crown can by so just title appertaine as to our selfe, as very right heire lawfully begotten of the body of our most dread and deare Father *Richard* late Duke of *Yorke*, to which title is now joyned your election, the nobles and commons of the Realme, which wee of all titles possibly take for most effectuall, wee bee content and agree favorably to encline to your petition and request, and according to the same, here we take upon us the Royall estate of preheminance and Kingdome of the two Noble Realmes, *England* and *France*, the one from this day forward by us and our heires to rule, governe, and defend, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get againe, subdue and establish for ever in due obedience unto this realme

of

of *England*, the advancement whereof, we never aske of God longer to live then we intend to procure and set forth. With this there was a great cry and shout, crying King *Richard*, and so the Lords went up to the King, and so hee was after that day so called. But the people departed talking diversly of the matter, every man as his fantasie gave him, but much they marvelled of this manner of delaying, that the matter was on both parts made so strange, as though never the one part had communed with the other part thereof before, when they knew that there was no man so dull that heard them, but he perceived well enough that all the matter was made betweene them. Howbeit, some excused that againe, saying; all things must bee done in good order, and men must sometimes for the manner

manner sake not bee knowne what they know. For at the consecration of a Bishop, every man perceiveth by payment of his Bulles that nee intendeth to bee one, yet when hee is twice asked whether he will bee a Bishop, he must twice say nay, and at the third time take it upon him as compelled thereto by his owne will. And in a stage play, the people know right well that hee that playeth the Soldan, is perhaps a cobbler yet if one of his acquaintance perhaps of little nurture should call him by his name while hee standeth in his Majesty, one of his tormentors might fortune to breake his head for marring the play. And so they said, these matters bee Kings games, as it were stage-playes, and for the most part played upon scaffolds, in which poore men bee but lookers on, and they

they that bee wise, will med-
dle no further, for they that
step up with them, when they
cannot play their parts, they
disorder the play, and doe
themselves no
good.

F I N I S.



Richard the 3rd King of England
and France, Lord of Ireland;



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THE
 TRAGICAL
 HISTORIE OF
 KING RICHARD
 THE THIRD.



Am loth to remember, but more
 I abhor to write,
 the misery of this
 unfortunate King,
 which by fraud entred, by ty-
 ranny proceeded, and by so-
 daine death ended his unfortu-
 nate life: But if I should not
 declare the flagitious facts of
 the evill Kings, as well as I have
 done the notable acts of vertu-
 ous Kings, I should neither ani-
 mate, nor encourage rulers of
 Realmes, Countries, and Seig-
 niories to follow the steps of
 K 2 their

their profitable Progenitors, for to attaine to the type of honour and worldly fame: neither yet advertise Kings being prone to vice & wickednesse, to avoide and expell all sinne and mischief, for dread of obloquie and worldly shame: for contrary set to contrary is more apparent, as white joyned to blacke maketh the sayrer shew: Wherefore, I will proceede in his acts after my accustomed usage.

Richard, the third of that name, usurped the Crowne of *England*, and openly tooke upon him to bee King, the ninth day of *June*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred fourescore and three, and in the twenty fifth yeare of *Lewis* the eleventh then being the King of *France*: and the morrow after, hee was Proclaimed King, and with great solemnity

lemnity rode to *Westminster*,
and there sate in the seate Roy-
all, and called the Judges of the
Realme before him, straightly
commanding them to execute
the Lawes without favour or
delay, with many good exhor-
tations (of the which hee fol-
lowed not one) and then hee
departed towards the Abby,
and at the Church doore hee
was met with Procession, and
there was delivered to him by
the Abbot the Scepter of Saint
Edward, and so went and offer-
red to Saint *Edwards* shrine,
while the Monkes sang *Te Deum*
with a faint courage; and from
the Church hee returned to the
Palace, where he lodged till the
Coronation. And to bee sure
of all enemies (as hee thought)
hee sent for five thousand men
out of the North against his
Coronation, which came up
evil apparelled and worse har-
nessed,

nedded, in rusty harnesse, neither defensible nor scoured to the sale, which mustered in *Finsbury field*, to the great disdain of all the lookers on.

The fourth day of *July* hee came to the Tower by water with his wife, and the fifth day he created *Edward* his onely begotten sonne, a child of tenne yeares old, Prince of *Wales*, and *John Haward*, a man of great knowledge and vertue (aswell in counsell as in battell) hee created Duke of *Norfolke*, and sir *Thomas Haward* his sonne he created Earle of *Surry*, and *William Lord Barkelcy* was then created Earle of *Notingham*, and *Francis Lord Lovell* was then made Vicount *Lovell*, and the Kings Chamberlaine, and Lord *Stanley* was delivered out of ward for feare of his sonne the Lord *Strange*, which was then in *Lancashire* gathering men

men (as men said) and the said Lord was made Steward of the Kings household; likewise the Arch-Bishop of *Yorke* was delivered: But *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, was delivered to the Duke of *Buckingham* to keepe in ward, who sent him to his manour of *Brecknoke* in *Wales*, from whence hee escaped to King *Richards* confusion. The same night the King made seventeene Knights of the Bath. The next day he roade through *London* with great pompe, and especially the Duke of *Buckingham* was richly apparelled, and his horse trapped in blew velvet embroidered with the naves of carts burning of gold: which trapper was borne by footmen from the ground, with such solemne fashion, that all men much admired it.

On the morrow being the sixt day of *Iuly*, the King came

towards his Coronation into *Westminster Hall*, where his Chappell & all the Prelates mitered received him. And so they in order of Procession passed forward: After the Procession followed the Earle of *Northumberland* with a pointlesse sword naked, and the Lord *Stanley* bore the Mace of the Constableship. The Earle of *Kent* bore the second sword on the right hand of the King naked. The Lord *Lovell* bore another sword on the left hand. Then followed the Duke of *Suffolke* with the Scepter, and the Earle of *Lincolne* with the Ball and Crosse. After them followed the new Earle of *Surrey* with the sword of Estate in a rich scabbard. On the right side of him went the Duke of *Norfolke* bearing the Crowne: then followed King *Richard* in a Circot and robe of purple velvet

velvet under a Canopie borne
by the barrons of the five Ports,
going betweene the Bishops of
Bathe and *Duresme*. The Duke
of *Buckingham* with the rod of
the high Steward of *England*
bare the Kings traine. After
him followed the Earle of *Hun-*
tington, bearing the Queenes
Scepter, and the Vicount *List*,
bearing the rod with the Dove.
And the Earle of *Wiltshire* bare
the Queenes Crowne. Then
followed Queene *Anne* daugh-
ter to *Richard* Earle of *War-*
wicke, in robes like to the King,
between two Bishops, and a ca-
nopie over her head, borne by
the Barons of the Ports. On her
head a rich Coronall set with
stones & pearles. After her fol-
lowed the countesse of *Richmond*
heire to the Duke of *Somerset*,
w^{ch} bare up the Queenes traine.
After followed the Dutches of
Suffolke and *Norfolke* with

Countesses, Barroneſſes, Ladies, and many faire Gentlewomen : in this order they paſſed thorough the palace, & entred the Abbie at the Weſt end, and ſo came to their ſeates of eſtate. And after diuerſe ſongs ſolemnly ſung, they both deſcended to the high Altar, and were ſhifted from their robes, and had diuerſe places open from the middle upward, in which places they were annointed. Then both the King and the Queene changed them into cloathes of gold, and aſcended to their ſeates, where the Cardinall of *Canterbury* and other Biſhops Crowned them according to the old cuſtome of the Realme, giving him the Scepter in his left hand, and the ball with the croſſe in the right hand, and the Queene had the Scepter in her right hand, and the rod with the Dove in the left hand :

On

On every side of the King stood a Duke, and before him stood the Earle of *Surrey* with the sword in his hands. And on every side of the Queene standing a Bishop and a Lady kneeling. The Cardinall sung the Masse, and after *paxe*; The King & the Queene descended, and before the high Altar they were both houseled with one host divided betweene them. After Masse finished, they both offered at Saint *Edwards* shrine, and there the King left the Crowne of Saint *Edward*, and put on his owne Crowne. And so in order as they came, they departed to *Westminster-hall*, and so to their chambers for a season, during which time the Duke of *Norfolke* came into the Hall, his horse trapped to the ground in cloth of gold as high Marshall, and voyded the Hall.

About

The Tragicall Historie

About foure of the clocke the King and Queene entred into the Hall, and the King sate in the middle, & the Queene on the left hand of the table, & on every side of her a Countesse holding a cloth of pleasance, when shee list to drinke. And at the right hand of the King sate the Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Ladies sate all on one side in the middle of the Hall, and at the table against the sate the Chancellour and all the Lordes. At the Table next the cupboord sate the Major of *London*. And at the Table behind the Lords, sate the Barons of the Ports. And at the other boords sate Noble and Worshipfull personages. When all persons were set, the Duke of *Norfolke* Earle Marshall, the Earle of *Surrey*, Constable for that day, the Lord *Stanley* Lord Steward, sir *William Hopton* Treasuer, and sir *Thomas*

Thomas Percy Controler, came in & served the King solemnly with one dish of gold, and another of silver. And the *Queene* all in gilt vessels, and the *Bishops* all in silver. At the second course came into the Hall, *sir Robert Democke* the Kings champion, making a Proclamation, that whosoever would say that *King Richard* was not lawfully King, hee would fight with him at the utterance, and threw downe his Gauntlet : and then all the Hall cryed out *King Richard*. And so hee did in three parts of the Hall, and then one brought him a cup of wine coverd, and when hee had dranke he cast out the wine, and departed with the cup. After that, the *Heralds* cried a *largesse* thrice in the Hall, and so went up to their stage. At the end of dinner, the *Major of London* served the King and *Queene* with

with sweete wine, and had of each of them a cup of gold with a cover of gold. And by that time that all was done, it was darkenight : and so the King returned to his chamber, and every man to his lodging. When this feast was thus finished, the King sent home all the Lords into their countries that would depart, except the Lord *Stanley*, whom hee retained till hee heard what his sonne the Lord *Strange* went about. And to such as went home, hee gave straight charge and commandement to see their Countries well ordered, & that no wrong nor extortion should bee done to his subjects. And thus hee taught others to execute justice and equitie, the contrary whereof he daily exercised : hee also with great rewards given to the Northerne men which hee sent for to his Coronation, sent them

them home to their Countrey with great thanks. Whereof divers of them, (as they all bee of nature very greedy of authoritie, and especially when they thinke to have any comfort or favour,) tooke on them so highly, and wrought such Masteries, that the King was faine to ride thither in his first yeare, and to put some in execution, and stay the Country, or else no small mischiefe had ensued.

Incontinent after this, he sent a solemne Embassage to *Lewis* the French King, to conclude a league and amitie with him, trusting also to obtaine the tribute which King *Edward* his brother had before out of *France*; but the French King so abhorred him and his crueltie, that he would neither see nor hear his Embassadors, and so in vaine they returned.

Now

Now after this triumphant Coronation there fell mischiefs thicke and thicke, and as the thing evill gotten is never well kept, so through all the time of his usurped reigne, never ceased there cruell murther, death and slaughter, till his own destruction ended it. But as hee finished with the best death and most fitting, that is to say his owne, so beganne he with the most pitteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocent Nephewes, the young King and his tender brother, whose death and finall fortune hath neverthelesse so farre come in question that some remained long in doubt whether they were in his dayes destroyed or no. Not for that that *Parkin Warbeck* by many folkes folly so long space abusing the world, was aswell with Princes as with poore people reputed and

and taken for the yonger of these two : But for that also that all things were so covertly demeaned, one thing pretended, and another meant, that there was nothing so plaine and openly proved, but that yet for the common custome of close covert dealing, men had it ever inwardly suspect, as many well counterfet jewels make the true mistrusted. Howbeit, concerning that opinion, men may see the conveiance thereof in the Noble Prince King *Henry* the seventh, in the proceſſe of *Par-kin*. But in the meane season, for this present matter I shall rehearse to you the dolorous end of these two babes, not after every way that I have heard, but after that way that I have so heard by such men and such meanes, as I thinke it to be hard but it should be true.

King *Richard* after his Coronation

The de-
struction
of King
Edwards
Children.

nation, taking his way to *Gloucester*, to visite in his new honour the towne, of which hee bare the name of old, devised as hee roade to fulfill that thing which hee before had intended. And forasmuch as his minde gave him that his Nephewes living, men would not recon that hee could have right to the Realme: he thought therefore without delay to rid them, as though the killing of his kinsmen might end his cause, and make him kindly King. Whereupon he sent *John Greene*, whom he specially trusted, unto sir *Robert Brakenbury* Constable of the Tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir *Robert* in any wise should put the two children to death. This *John Greene* did his errand to *Brakenbury*, kneeling before our Lady in the Tower, who plainely answered that hee would

would never put them to death
to dye therefore. With the
which answer *Greene* returned,
recompting the same to King
Richard at *Warwicke* yet on his
journey, wherewith hee tooke
such displeasure and thought,
that the same night hee said to
a secret page of his: Ah, whom
shall a man trust? they that I
have brought up my selfe, they
that I thought would have most
surely served mee, even those
faile me, and at my command-
ment will doe nothing for mee.
Sir, quoth the page, there lieth
one in the palet chamber with-
out, that I dare say, will doe
your Grace pleasure, the thing
were right hard that he would
refuse, meaning this by *James*
Tirell, which was a man of a
goodly personage, and for the
gifts of nature worthy to have
served a much better Prince, if
he had well served God, and by
grace

grace obtained to have as much
 truth and good will, as hee had
 strength and wit. The man had
 an high heart and sore longed
 upward, not rising yet so fast as
 he had hoped, being hindered
 and kept under by sir *Richard*
Ratcliffe, and sir *William Cates-*
bey, which longing for no more
 partners of the Princes favour,
 namely not for him, whose
 pride they knew would beare
 no peere, kept him by secret
 drifts out of all secret trust:
 which thing this page had well
 marked and knew: wherefore
 this occasion offered, of very
 speciall friendship spied his
 time to set him forward, and in
 such wise to doe him good, that
 all the enemies that he had (ex-
 cept the devill) could never
 have done him so much hurt
 and shame; for upon the pages
 words, King *Richard* arose (for
 this communication had he sit-
 ting

ting on a draft, a convenient carpet for such a councell) and came out into the palet chamber, where hee did finde in bed the said *James Tyrell* and *Sir Thomas Tynell*, of person like, and brethren of blood, but nothing of himne in conditions. The said the King merrily, what first, bee you in bed so soone? and called up *James Tyrell*, and brake to him secretly his minde in this mischievous matter, in the which hee found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow he sent him to *Brakinsbury* with a letter, by the which hee was commanded to deliver to the said *James* all the keyes of the Tower for a night, to the end that he might there accomplish the Kings pleasure in such things as hee there had given him in commandement. After which letter delivered, and the keyes received, *James* appointed

ted the next night ensuing to destroy them, devising before and preparing the meanes.

The Prince assoone as the Protector tooke upon him to be King, and left the name of Protector, was thereof advertised and shewed, that he should not reigne, but his Vncle should have the Crowne. At which word the Prince foreabashed, began to sigh and say: Alas I would mine Vncle would let mee have my life although I leese my Kingdome. Then he that told him the tale told him with good words, and put him in the best comfort that hee could, but forthwith hee and his brothen were both shut up, and all other removed from them: one called *Black Will*, or *William Slaughter* onely except, which were set to serve them, and foure other to see them sure. After which the Prince

the Prince never tyed his points, nor any thing regarded himselfe, but with that young babe his brother lingered in thought and heaviness, till this trayterous deede delivered the of that wretchednesse.

For *James Tirrell* devised that they should bee murdered in their beds, and no blood shed: to the execution wherof, he appointed *Myles Forest*, one of the foure that before kept them, a fellow flesh-bred in murther before time: and to him he joyned one *John Dighton* his owne horsekeeper, a big, broade, square, and strong knave. Then all the other being removed from them, this *Miles Forest* and *John Dighton* about midnight, the silly children lying in their beddes, came into the chamber, and suddenly lapped them up amongst the cloathes, and so bewrap-

King Edwards
Children
murthered

wrapped them, keeping downe by force the featherbed and pillowes hard under their mouthes, that within a while they smothered & stifled them, and their breaths failing, they gave up to God their innocent soules into the joyes of heaven, leaving to the tormenters their bodies dead in the bed, which after the wretches perceived, first by the strugling with the pang of death, and after long lying still, to be thorough dead, they layed the bodies out upon the bed, and fetched *James Tirrell* to see them, which when he saw them perfectly dead, hee caused the murtherers to bury them at the stayre foote, meetly deepe in the ground, under a heape of stones.

Then rode *James Tirrell* in great haste to King *Richard*, and shewed him all the manner of the murther, who gave him thanks

thanks, and as men say, there made him Knight, but hee allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, saying; that hee would have them buried in a better place, because they were a Kings sonnes: Loe the honorable courage of a King, for he would recompence a detestable murder with a solemne obsequie. Wherupon a priest of Sir Robert Brakenburies tooke them up & buried them in such a place secretly as by the occasion of his death (which was shortly after) w^{ch} only knew it, the very truth could never yet bee very well and perfectly known. For some say that King Richard caused the Priest to take them up and close them in leade and to put them in a coffin full of holes, hooked at the endes with two hookes of iron, and so to cast them into a place called the *Blacke deepes at the Thames*
L month,

mouth, so that they should never rise up nor bee seene againe. This was the very truth unknowne, by reason that the said Priest died so shortly and disclosed it never to any person that would utter it. And for a truth, when sir *James Tirrell* was in the Tower for treason committed to King *Henry* the seventh, both he and *Dighton* were examined together of this point, and both they confessed the murther to bee done in the same manner as you have heard, but whither the bodies were removed, they both affirmed they never knew. And thus as I have learned of them that knew much, and little cause had they to lie, where these two noble Princes, these innocent tender children, borne of the most royall blood, and brought up in great wealth, likely long to live, to raigne and

and rule in the Realme, by trayterous tyrannie taken and deprived of their estate, shortly shut up in Prison and privily slaine and murdered by the cruell ambition of their unnaturall Vncle and his dispiteous tormenters: which things on every part well pondered, God gave this world never a more notable example, either in what unshurety standeth this worlds weale, or what mischiefeworketh the proud enterprize of an high heart, or finally, what wretched end insueth such dispiteous crueltie.

For first to beginne with the Ministers, *Miles Forest*, at Saint *Martins le grant*, by peece meales miserably rotted away: *John Dighton*, lived at *Caleys* long after, no lesse disdained and hated then pointed at, and there dyed in great miserie: But sir *James Tirrell* was be-

headed on the Tower hill for
Treason : And King *Richard*
himselſe was ſlaine in the field,
hacked and hewen by his ene-
mies hands, hurried on a horſe
backe naked being dead, hee is
here in deſpight torne and tug-
ged like a curre dogge. And
the miſchiefe that hee tooke
within leſſe then three yeares,
of the miſchief that he dyed in
three moneths bee not compa-
rable, and yet all the meane
time ſpent in much trouble and
paine outward, and much feare,
dread, and anguiſh within. For
I have heard by credible report
of ſuch as were ſecret with his
chamberers, that after this abo-
minable deede done, hee never
was quiet in his minde, he never
thought himſelſe ſure where he
went abroad, his body privily
fainted, his eye wherled about,
his hand ever on his dagger, his
countenance and manner like
alwaies

always to strike againe, hee
took ill rest on nights, lay long
waking and musing, for wearied
with care and watch, rather
slumbred then slept, troubled
with fearefull dreames, sud-
denly sometime start up, leape
out of his bed and looke about
the chamber; so was his rest-
lesse heart continually tossed
and tumbled with the tedious
impression and stormy remem-
brance of his abominable
murther and execrable Ty-
rannie.

King *Richard* by this abo-
minable mischief and scele-
rous act, thinking himselfe well
relieved both of feare and
thought, would not have it
kept councell but within a few
dayes caused it to run in a com-
mon rumour that the two chil-
dren were suddenly dead, and
to this intent as it is to be dee-
med, that now no heire Male

being alive of King *Edwards* body lawfully begotten, the people would be content with the more patient heart and quiet minde, to obey him and suffer his rule and governance: but when the same of this detestable fact was revealed, and divulged thorow the whole Realme, there fell generally such a dolour and inward sorrow into the hearts of all the people, that all feare of his cruelty set a side, they in every Towne, street, and place, openly wept, and pittiously sobbed. And when their sorrow was somewhat mitigate, their inward grudge could not refraine but cry out in places publike and also private, furiously saying, what creature of all creatures is so malicious and so obstinate an enemy either to God, or to Christian Religion, or to humane Nature, which
would

would not have abhorred, or
at the least abstained from so
miserable a murder of so exe-
crable a tyranny? To murder
a man is much odious, to kill
a woman, is in manner unna-
turall, but to slay and destroy
innocent Babes, and young In-
fants, the whole world abhor-
reth, and the blood from the
earth cryeth to Almighty
God for vengeance. If the
common people cryed out, I
assure you the friends of the
Queene and her children, made
no lesse exclamation and com-
plaint with loud voyce, lamen-
tably crying and saying, alas
what will he doe to others, that
thus shamefully murdereth his
owne blood without cause or
desert? whom will hee save,
when hee slayeth the poore
Lambes committed to him in
trust? now wee see and behold,
that the most cruell tyranny

hath invaded the Commonwealth ; now wee see that in him is neither hope of Justice nor trust of Mercy, but abundance of cruelty and thirst of innocent blood.

But when this newes was first brought to the infortunate mother of the dead children yet being in Sanctuary, no doubt but it strake to her heart, like the sharpe dart of death ; for when shee was first informed of the murther of her two Sonnes, shee was suddenly amazed with the greatnesse of the cruelty, that for feare shee founted and fell downe to the ground, and there lay in a great agony like to a dead corps. And after that shee came to her memory, and was revived againe, shee wept and sobbed, and with pittifull scricches shee replenished the whole Mansion, her brest shee strooke, her faire haire shee tore, and

and pulled in pieces, and being overcome with sorrow and pensivenesse, rather desired death then life, calling by name divers times her sweet Babes, accounting her selfe more then mad, that she deluded by wile and fraudulent promises, delivered her younger sonne out of the Sanctuary to his enemy to be put to death, thinking that next the oath made to God broken, and the duty of allegiance toward her children violated, she of all creatures in that point was most seduced and deceived. After long lamentation, when shee saw no hope of revenging otherwise, she kneeled downe and cryed on God to take vengeance for the deceitfull perjury, as who said shee nothing mistrusted but once hee would remember it. What is hee living, that if hee remember and behold these

two noble infants without deserving, so shamefully murdered, that will not abhorre the fact, yea and be moved and tormented with pittie and mercie. And yet the world is so fraile, and our nature so blinde, that few be stirred with such examples, obviously forgetting, and little considering, that oftentimes for the offences by the Parents perpetrate and committed, that sinne is punished in their line and posterity. This chance might so happē to these innocent children, because King *Edward* their Father and Parent offended in staining his conscience : hee made his solemne oath before the Gate of the City of *Yorke* (as you have heard before) and promised and sware one thing by his word, thinking cleane contrary in his heart, as after did appeare. And afterward by the death

death of the Duke of *Clarence* his brother, hee incurred (of likelihood) the great displeasure toward God.

After this murther thus perpetrated, and that hee had visited his Towne of *Gloucester*, which hee for his old Dignity both loved and with ample liberties and priviledges endowed and decorated, he tooke his journey toward the County of *Yorke*, where the people abusing his lawfull favour (as hee both favoured and trusted them in his heart) had of late presumed to attempt divers routs and riots contray to his lawes, and infringing of his peace, and upon hope of his maintenance, were so elated, that no Lord, were he never of so great power, could either pacifie or rule them, till the King himselfe came personally thither, to set a concord
and

and an unity in that Country, and to bridle and rule the rude rusticall and blustering bold people of that region, and so he by long journeying came to the Citie of *Yorke*, where the Citizens received him with great pompe and triumph, according to the qualities of their education, and quantity of their substance and ability, and made divers dayes, playes, and Pageants in token of joy and solace. Wherefore King *Richard* magnified and applauded of the North Nation, and also to shew himself apparantly before them in habit royall with Scepter in hand and Diadem on his head, made Proclamation, that all persons should resort to *Yorke* on the day of the Ascention of our Lord, where all men should both behold and see him, his Queene and Prince in their high

high estates and degrees, and also for their good wills, should have received many thanks, large benefits, & magnificent rewards. At the day appointed the whole clergie assembled in Copes richly vested, and so with a reverent ceremonie went about the citie in procession, after whom folowed the King with his Crowne and Scepter apparelled in his Circot robe royall, accompanied with no small number of the nobilitie of his Realme: after whom marched in order *Queene Anne* his wife crowned, leading in her left hand *Prince Edward* her son, having on his head a demy crown appointed for the degree of a Prince. The King was had in that triumph in such honour and the common people of the North so rejoyced that they extolled and praysed him farre above the Starres. After this solemne

lemne feast and glorious pompe he kept great counsellors there, as well for the ordering of the countrey in time, as for the brideling and punishing of such as there had misgoverned themselves: and further of the gentlemen of that countrey, he augmented the number of his domestical Ministers and servants, in the which persons he put his whole trust and affiance. When all things were thus discreetly ordered, hee returned by *Nottingham*, and after came to *London*: whom more for dread then for love, the Citezens received in great companies.

Thus King *Richard* by a new invented crueltie, & late practised tyranny, obtained and grew to high praise and honour, and then by the admiration and judgment of the common multitude, he was most esteemed to bee exalted into Heaven, when hee

hee covertly had intelligence, that hee was like to loose his estate, and could by no meanes have long continuance in his usurped power: for assuredly after the death of King *Edwards* children, when any blustering winde, perrilous thunder, or terrible tempest, chanced or were apparently like to happen: Sodainely the people having in their fresh memorie the facinorous act of their King and Prince, would openly cry and make vociferation, that God did take vengeance and punish the poore Englishmen, for the crime and offence of their ungratious King, whom they blamed, accursed and wished to have extreame tortures. Although King *Richard* heard often of these slanderous words & malicious sayings, and knew well by what persons they were spoken,

ken, yet he durst not with strong hand bee on the first inventors revenged, knowing that some time it is no wisdome to refuse or disdain them that tell a ruler his dutie or declare to him his misbehaviour towards the common wealth, or counsell him to amend and change his ill life. After this great felicity, he fell againe into a great feare and pensivenesse of minde, and because he could by no meanes either correct or amend things that were past, he determined by doing his dutie in all things to his commons, to obliterate and put out of memorie that note of infamie with the which his fame was justly spotted and stayned, and to cause the people to conceive so good an opinion of him, that from thence forth no calamity nor trouble should bee adjudged to happen to the common wealth, either by his negli-

negligence or by his misgovernment (although it is difficile and strange shortly to turne and plucke out such qualities and usages as have of long time beene incorporated in a mans minde, and rooted in his manners and conditions.) Therefore whether it was for the performance of his former intent of amendment, or (as common fame flew abroad) that he tooke repentance of his mischievous acts and scelerate doings, hee turned over the leafe, and began an order of a new life, and pretended to have the name of a good and vertuous man, by the reason that hee shewed himselfe more just, more meeke, more familiar, more liberall (especially amongst the poore people) then before hee had accustomed to doe; and so by this meanes he firmly trusted first to obtaine of God forgivenesse of his
offen-

offences and crimes, and after to live and take away the enemy and inward grudge that the common people bare in their mindes towards him, and in conclusion, to obtaine their friendly love and assured favour. Hee furthermore began and enterprised divers things as well publike as private, the which hee being prevented by sodayne death did neither accomplish nor begin to conclusion, for hee began to found a Colledge of a hundred Priests, which foundation with the founder shortly tooke an end. To please the common people also, hee in his high Court of Parliament enacted divers and sundry good lawes and profitable statutes, and especially one against strangers and foren wrought wares, not to bee transported into this Realme, which commodious act for the

com-

common wealth, if hee had lived, hee had fully purposed to have advanced and set forward, and put in execution. But afterwards evidently it appeared to all persons, that onely feare (which is not a master long in office and in continuall authoritie) and not iustice, caused King Richard at that very time to waxe better, and amend his wicked and sinfull life, for shortly after, the goodnesse of the man which was but painted and fraudulent, suddenly waxed cold and vanished away. And from thenceforth not onely all his Councillors doings and proceeding suddenly decayed and resorted to none effect: But also fortune began to frowne and turned her wheele downwards from him, in so much that he lost his onely begotten sonne *Edward* in the third moneth

moneth after hee had created him Prince of *Wales*.



*The second yeere of his
Raigne.*



And shortly after, in his second yeere of his raigne hee was unquieted by conspiracie, or rather a confederacy betweene the Duke of *Buckingham* and many other Gentlemen against him, as yee shall heare: But the occasion why the Duke and the King fell out, is of diuerse folke diuersly pretended. This Duke as you have heard before, assoone as the Duke of *Gloucester* after the death of King *Edward*

ward was come to Yorke, and there had solemne funerall service done for King Edward, sent to him a secret servant of his called *Persall*, with such messages as you have heard before. And after the Duke of *Buckingham* came with three hundred horse to *Northampton*, and still continued with him, as partner and chiefe organ of his devices till after his Coronation, they departed, seeming all to bee very good friends at *Gloucester*. From whence as soone as the Duke came home, hee so highly conspired against him, that a man would marvell whereof the change grew in so short a space. Some say this occasion was, that a little before the Coronation, the Duke required the King amongst other things to bee restored to the Earle of *Herfords* lands: and forasmuch as the title

title which hee claymed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title of *Lancaster*, which house made a title to the Crowne, and enjoyed the same three descents, as all men knew, till the house of *Torke* deprived the third King, which was *Henry* the fixt, King *Richard* somewhat mistrusted and conceived such an indignation, that he rejected the Dukes request, with many spitefull, and minatorie words, which so wounded the Dukes heart with hatred and mistrust, that hee could never after indure to looke right on King *Richard*, but ever feared his owne life, so farre forth, that when the Protector should ride to his Coronation, hee feigned himselfe sicke, because he would doe him no honour. And the other taking it in evill part, sent him word to rise and ride, or hee would

would make him to be carried. Whereupon, gorgeously apparelled, and sumptuously trapped with burning cart naves of gold embrodered, he roade before the King through London with an evill will and worse heart. And that notwithstanding, hee rose the day of the Coronation from the feast, feining himselfe sicke, which King Richard said was done in hate and dispiight of him. And therefore men said that each of them ever after lived continually in such hatred and distrust of other, that the Duke looked verily to have beene murdered at Gloucester, from which hee in faire manner departed: but surely such as were right secret with both, affirmed all this to be untrue; and otherwise men thinke it unlikely, the deepe dissembling nature of both these men well considered. And what
neede

neede in that greene world the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke stood if hee fell once in suspition of that tyrant, that either the Protector would give the Duke occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust. And surely men thinke, that if King *Richard* had any such opinion conceived in him, hee would never have suffered him to avoide his hands or escape his power: but very true it is, that the Duke of *Buckingham* was an high minded man, and ill could beare the glory of another, so that I have heard of some that saw it, that he at such time as the Crowne was set upon the Protectors head, his eye could never abide the sight thereof, but wryed his head another way, but men said he was not well at ease, and that was both to King *Richard* well knowne

knowne and well taken, nor any demand of the Dukes request uncurteously rejected, but gently deferred, but both hee with great gifts and high behestes in most loving and trusty manner departed from the King to *Gloucester*. Thus every man judged as he thought, but soone after his comming home to *Brecknocke*, having there by King Richards commandment Doctor *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who before as you have heard, was taken at the Councell at the Tower, waxed with him very familiar, whose only wisdom abused his pride, to his own deliverance, and the Dukes destruction. The Bishop was a man of great naturall wit, very well learned, and of honorable behaviour, lacking no wise waies to win favour. Hee was first upon the part of King *Henry*, while that part was in
M wealth,

wealth, and neither left it nor forsooke it in woe, but fled the Realme with the Queene and the Prince. And while King *Edward* had King *Henry* in prison, hee never returned but to the field at *Barnet*: after which field lost and utterly subdued, and all par-takings extinguished, King *Edward* for his fast faith & wisdom, was not onely content to receive him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thenceforth both in secret trust and speciall favour, whom he never deceived. For hee being after King *Edwards* death first taken by the tyrant for his truth to the King, found the meanes to set the Duke in his topp, and joyned gentlemen together in aide of the Earle of *Richmond*, which after was named King *Henry* the seventh: First devising the marriage betweene the Lady
Eliza-

Elizabeth, daughter to King *Edward* the fourth, by the which his faithfull and true service declared to both his masters at once, was an infinite benefit to the Realme, by the conjunction of the bloods of *Lancaster* and *Yorke*, whose funerall titles had long unquieted the Realme. This man afterwards escaped from the Duke and fled the Realme, and never returned, and went to Rome, never minded to meddle with the world, till King *Henry* the seventh sent for him, and after made him Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Chancellor of *England*, and after was made Cardinall, and lived well to all mens judgments, and died well. But to returne to the former purpose, he by the long and often alternate prooffe, as well of prosperity as adverse fortune, had gotten by great experience the very

mother and mistris of wisdom, and deepe insight in politike and worldly drifts, whereby perceiving now the Duke to commune with him, fed him with faire words and many prayses, and perceiving by the grieve of their communications the Dukes pride now and then to balke out a little brayd of envie towards the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out if the matter were well handled, hee craftily sought the waies to pricke him forward, taking alwaies the occasion of his coming, and also keeping himself close within his bands, that he rather seemed to follow him then to leade him. For when the Duke began first to praise and boast the King, & to shew how much profit the Realme should take by his reigne: Bishop *Morton* answered, surely my Lord, folly
it

it were for mee to lie, for I am
sure if I would sweare the con-
trary ye would not once be-
leeve mee, but if the world
would have begunne as I
would have wished, that King
Henries sonne had had the
Crowne, and not King *Edward*,
then would I have beene his
true and faithfull subject, but
after that God had ordained
him to lose it, and King *Ed-
ward* to raigne, I was never so
mad with a dead man to strive
against the quicke, so was I ever
to King *Edward* a faithfull and
true chaplin, and glad would
have beene that his chil-
dren should have succeeded
him, howbeit if the secret judge-
ment of God have otherwise
provided, I purpose not to
spurne against the prick, nor
labour to set up that God pul-
leth downe. And as for the late
protector, and now King, and

with that word hee left, saving that he said that he had already medled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his booke and beades, and no further. Then longed the Duke sore to heare, what hee would have said, because hee ended with the King, and there so sodainely stopped, and exhorted him familiarly, betweene them both to be bold and to say whatsoever hee thought, whereof he faithfully promised there should never come hurt, and peradventure more good then hee would thinke: And that hee himselte intended to use his faithfull secret advice and counsaile, which he said was the onely cause for the which hee procured of the King to have him in his custody, where he might reckon himselfe at home, or else hee had beene put in the hands of them
with

with whom he should not have found like favour. The Bishop right humbly thanked him, and said, in good faith my Lord, I love not much to talke of Princes, as of a thing not all out of perill, although the word bee without fault, but yet it must be as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And ever I thinke on *Bishops* talke, that when the Lyon had proclaimed that on paine of death there should no horned beasts come into the wood, one beast that had a bunch of flesh growing out of his head, fled a great pace: the foxe that saw him flie with all the hast, asked him whither he fled? In faith, quoth he, I neither know nor care, so I were once hence, because of the proclamation made against horned beasts. What foole, quoth the foxe, the Lyon never meant it by thee, for that which thou

hast is no horne in thy head. No marry, quoth hee, I know that well enough, but if hee say it is a horne, where am I then? The Duke laughed merrily at the tale, and said, my Lord I warrant you, neither the Lyon nor the Bore shall picke any matter at any thing here spoken, for it shall never come neere their eares. In good faith sir, said the Bishop, if it did, the thing that I was about to say taken as well, as before God I meant it, could deserve but thanks, and yet taken as I thinke it would, might happen to turne mee to little good, and you to lesse.

Then longed the Duke much more to know what it was. Whereupon the Bishop said. In good faith my Lord, as for the late Protector, sith hee is now King in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title, but for the wealth of this realme, wher-
of

of his grace hath now the governance, and whereof I my selfe am a poore member, I was about to wish that to those good abilities whereof hee hath already right many, little needing my praise, yet might it have pleased God for the better store to have given him some of such other excellent vertues meet for the rule of the Realme, as our Lord hath planted in the person of your grace, and there left off againe. The Duke somewhat marvelling at his sodaine pauses, as though they were but parentheses, with a high countenance said: my Lord, I evidently perceive, and no lesse note your often breathing and sudden stopping in your communication, so that to my intelligence your words neither come to any direct or perfect sentence in conclusion, whereby either I might perceive and

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have

have knowledge what your inward intent is now toward the King, or what affectiō you beare toward me. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to us both (for the which I my selfe knowledg and recognise to have none, nor looke for no praise of any creature. for the same) maketh me not a little to muse, thinking that you have some other privie Imagination, by love or by grudge ingraved and imprinted in your heart, which for feare you dare not, or for childish shamefastnesse you be ashamed to disclose and reveale, and especially to me being your friend, which on my honour doe assure you to bee as secret in this case, as the deafe and dumbe person is to the finger, or the tree to the hunter. The Bishop being somewhat bolder, considering the Dukes promise, but most of all animated

ted and incouraged, because hee knew the Duke desirous to bee exalted and magnified, and also he perceived the inward hatred and privie rancor which hee bare towards King *Richard*, was now bouldned to open his stomacke even to the very bottome, intending thereby to compasse how to destroy and utterly to confound King *Richard*, and to deprive him of his dignity royall, or else to set the Duke so faire with the desire of ambition, that hee himselfe might besafe, and escape out of all danger and perill, which thing hee brought shortly to conclusion both to the Kings destruction and the Dukes confusion & to his owne safegard, and finally, to his high promotion. And so (as I said before) upon trust and confidence of the Dukes promise, the Bishop said: my singular good Lord,

Lord, sith the time of my captivity, which being in your graces custodie, I may rather call it a liberall liberty more then a straight imprisonment; in avoiding idlenesse, the mother and nourisher of all vices, in reading bookes and ancient pamphlets, I have found this sentence written, that no man is borne free and in liberty of himselfe only, for one part of duty hee oweth or should owe to his parents for his procreation by a very naturall instinct and filiall curtesie: another part, to his friends and kinsfolke, for proximitie of blood, and naturall amity doth of verie duty challenge and demand: But it the native countrey in the which hee tasted first the sweet aire of this pleasant flattering world after his nativitie, demandeth as a debt by a naturall bond neither to be forgotten, nor yet to bee
put

put in oblivion, which saying
causeth me to consider in what
case this Realme my native
countrey now standeth, and in
what estate and assurance before
this time it hath continued:
what governour we now have,
and what ruler we might have,
for I plainly perceive the
Realme being in this case must
needes decay and be brought to
utter confusion and finall exter-
mination: But one hope I have
incorporate in my breast, that
is, when I consider and in my
minde doe diligently remem-
ber, and daily behold your no-
ble personage, your justice and
indifference, your fervent love
towards your countrie & like-
wise theirs to you, the great
learning, pregnant wit and
goodly eloquence, which so
much doth abound in the persō
of your grace, I must needes
thinke this Realme fortunate,
yea

yea twise more then fortunate, which hath such a Prince in store, meete and apt to bee a governour, in whose person being endued with so many qualities consisteth and resteth the very undoubted similitude and image of true honour. But on the other side when I call to memorie the good qualities of the late Protector and now called King, so violated and subverted by tyranny, so changed and altered by usurped authority, so clouded and shadowed by blind and insatiable ambition, yea and so suddenly (in manner by a metamorphosis) transformed from politicke civility, to detestable tyrannie; I must needes say, and justly assever, that he is neither meete to be a King of so noble a Realme, nor so famous a Realme meete to be governed by such a tyrant: Was not his first enterprise to
obtaine

obtaine the Crowne begun and incepted by the murther of diuers noble, valiant, true, and vertuous personages? Oh a holy beginning to come to mischiefous ending: did hee not secundarily proceede contrary to all lawes of honesty, shamefully against his owne naturall mother, being a woman of much honour, and more vertue, declaring her openly to bee a woman given to carnall affection, and dissolute living (which thing if it had beene true, as it was not indeede: every good and naturall child would have rather beene silent, then have blased it abroad, and especially shee beeing alive.) Declaring furthermore his two brethren and his two nephewes to be bastards, and to bee borne in adultery, yet not with all this is hee content. After that he had obtained the garland for
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the which hee so long thirsted,
he caused the two poore innocents his nephewes committed to him for especiall trust, to bee murdered and shamefully to be killed. The blood of which filie and little babes daily cries to God, from the earth for vengeance: alas my heart fobbeth, to remember this bloody butcher and cruell murtherer, what surety shall bee in this Realme to any person, either for life or goods under such a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne blood, and then lesse the losse of others. And most especially, as often times it chanceth, where a covetuous or a cruell Prince taketh suspicion, the smallest swarving that is possible (if the thing bee misconstrued) may bee the cause of the destruction of many guiltlesse persons: and especiall of noble and wealthe

wealthie personages having great possessions and riches: Such a Lord is Lucifer when he is entered into the heart of a proud Prince given to covetousnesse and crueltie.

But now, my Lord, to conclude what I meane towards your noble person, I say and affirme, if you love God, your linage, or your native contrie, you must your selfe take upon you the Crowne and Diadem of this noble Empire, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same (which so long hath flourished in fame and renown) as also for the deliverance of your naturall countrey men, from the bondage and thralldome (worse then the captivitie of *Egypt*) of so cruell a tyrant and arrogant oppressor. For thus I dare say, if any forren Prince or potentate, yea the Turke himselfe would take upon

on him the regiment here and the Crowne, the Commons would rather admit and obey him, then to live under such a bloud-sucker and child-killer: but how much more joyfull and glad would they bee to live under your grace, whom they all know to bee a ruler meeete and convenient for them to live under despite not, nor forsake so manifest occasion so lovingly offered. And if your self knowing the paine and travaile that appertaineth to the office of a king, or for any other consideration, will refuse to take upon you the Crowne and Scepter of this Realme: Then I adjure you by the faith that you owe to God, by your honour, and by your oath made to Saint George patron of the noble order of the Garter (whereof you bee a companion) and by the love and affection that you beare

beare to your native countrey
& the people of the same, to de-
vise some way how this Realme
now being in miserie, may by
your high discretion and
princely policy, bee brought
and reduced to some suretie and
convenient regiment under
some good governour by you
to bee excogitate: for you are
the very patron, the only helpe,
refuge, and comfort of the
poore, amased and desolate
commons of this Realme. For
if you could either devise to set
up againe the lineage of *Lanca-*
ster, or advance the eldest
daughter of King *Edward* to
some high and puissant Prince,
not onely the new crowned
King shall small time enjoy the
glory of his dignity, but also
all civill warre should cease,
all domesticall discord should
sleepe, and peace, profit and
quietnesse should bee set forth
and

and embraced. When the Bishop had thus ended his saying, the Duke sighed and spake not of a great while, which foreabashed the Bishop, and made him change colour: which thing when the Duke perceived, he said, be not afraid my Lord, all promises shall bee kept, to morrow wee will commune more: let us goe to supper, so that night they communed no more, not a little to the inquisition of the Bishop, which now was even as desirous to know the Dukes minde and intent, as the Duke longed the day before to know his opinion and meaning. So the nex day, the Duke sent for the Bishop and rehearsed to him in maner, (for he was both witty and eloquent) all the communication had betweene them before, and so paused a while, and after a little season putting off his bonet

bonet hee said : O Lord God
creator of all things, how much
is this Realme of *England* and
the people of the same bounden
to thy goodnesse, for where
wee now bee in vexation and
trouble, with great stormes oppressed,
sayling and tossing in a
desperate ship without good
Master or Governour : by thy
helpe good Lord I trust ere
long time past, that wee shall
provide for such a ruler as shall
be both to thy pleasure, and also
to the security and safeguard
of this noble Realme. And then
he put on his bonet, saying to
the Bishop, my Lord of *Ely*,
whose true heart and sincere affection
toward me at all times
I have evidently perceived and
knowne, and now most of all
our last privie communication
and secret devising, I must needs
in heart think and with mouth
confesse and say, that you bee a
sure

sure friend, a trusty counsellor, a vigilant foreseer, a lover of your countrey, a naturall countryman: for which kindnesse, for my part, I most lovingly render to you my hartly thanks now with words: hereafter trusting to recompence and remunerate you with deedes, if life and power shall serve. And sith at our last communication, you have disclosed, and opened the very secrets and privities of your stomacke, touching the Duke of *Gloucester* now usurper of the Crowne, and also have a little touched the advancement of the two noble families of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*: I shall likewise not onely declare and manifest unto you, all my open acts, attempts and doings, but also my privie intents, and secret cogitations. To the intent that as you have unbuckled your heart of your privie meanings

things and secret purposes to me:
so that all my cloudy working,
close devices, and secret imagi-
nations, bee (as cleare as the
sunne) revealed, opened, and
made lightesome to you.

And to begin, I declare, that
when King *Edward* was decea-
sed, to whom I thought my self
little or nothing beholden, (al-
though wee two had married
two sisters) because, he neither
promoted nor preferred mee,
as I thought I was worthy and
had deserved, neither favored
nor regarded me, according to
my degree and birth: for sure-
ly I had by him little authority
and lesse rule, and in effect no-
thing at all: which caused mee
the lesse to favour his children,
because I found small humani-
tie, or none in their parent. I
then began to study, and with
mature deliberation, to ponder
and consider, how and in what
man-

manner this Realme should be ruled and governed. And first I remembered an old proverbe, worthy of memory, that often ruineth the Realme, where children rule, and women governe. This old Adage so sunke, and setled in my head, that I thought it a great errour, and extreme mischief to the whole Realme, either to suffer the young King to rule, or the Queene his mother to bee a governour over him, considering that her brethren, and her first children (although they were not extract of high and noble lineage) tooke more upon them, and more exalted themselves by reason of the Queene, then did the Kings brethren, or any Duke in his Realme: Which in conclusion turned to their confusion. Then I being perswaded with my self in this point, thought it necessary

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farie both for the publique
and profitable wealth of this
Realme, and also for mine owne
commodity and emolument, to
take part with the Duke of
Gloucester: Whom I assure you
I thought to be as cleane with-
out dissimulation, as tractable
without injury, as mercifull
without crueltie, as now I
know him perfectly to bee a
dissembler without verity, a
tyrant without pittie, yea and
worse then the tyrant *Phalaris*,
destitute of all truth & clemen-
cie: And so by my meanes, at
the first councell holden at *Lon-
don*, when hee was most sus-
pected of that thing that after
happened, (as you my Lord
know well enough) hee was
made Protector and defender,
both of the King and of the
Realme, which authority once
gotten, and the two children
partly by policie brought un-

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der

der his governance, hee being moved with that gnawing and covetous serpent, desired to raigne, and never ceased privlie to exhort and require (yea and somtimes with minatorie termes to perswade me & other Lords aswell spirituall as temporall, that hee might take upon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeares, and were able to governe the Realme, as a mature and sufficient King: Which thing when hee saw me somewhat sticke at, both for the strangenesse of the example (because no such president had beene seene) and also because wee remembred that men once ascended to the highest tipe of honour and authority will not gladly discend againe, hee then brought in instruments, authen- tike Doctors, Proctors, and no- taries of the Law, with deposi- tions,

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positions of divers witnesses, testifying King Edwards children to be bastards, which depositions then I thought to bee as true, as now I know them to be fained, and testified by persons with rewards untruely subordinate. When the said depositions were before us read and diligently heard, he stood up bareheaded, saying; Well my Lords, even as I and you sage and discrete counsellors would that my Nephewes should have no wrong: So I pray you to doe mee nothing but right. For these witnesses and sayings of famous Doctors being true, I am onely the undoubted heire to Lord Richard Plantagenet Duke of Yorke; adjudged to bee the very heire to the Crowne of this Realme by authority of Parliament, which things, so by learned men to us for a veritie declared, caused me

and other to take him for our lawfull and undoubted Prince and soveraign Lord. For well we know that the Duke of *Clarence* Son, by reason of the attainder of his Father, was disabled to inherite, and also the Duke himselfe was named to be a bastard, as I my selfe have heard spoken, and that upon great presumptions more times then once: so againe by my ayde and favour, hee of a Protector was made a King, and of a subject made a Governour, at which time he promised mee upon his fidelitie, laying his hand in mine at *Baynards Castle*, that the two yong Princes should live, and that hee would so provide for them, and so maintaine them in honorable estate, that I and all the Realme ought and shou'd bee content. But when he was once Crowned King, and in full possession

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session of the whole Realme, he
cast away his old conditions as
the Adder doth his skinne, ve-
rifying the old proverbe, ho-
nours change manners, as the
Parish Priest remembreth not
that he was ever Parish Clarke.
For when I my selfe sued to
him for my part of the Earle of
Hartfords lands, which his bro-
ther King Edward wrongfully
detyned and withheld from
mee, and also required to have
the office of the high Consta-
ble-ship of England, as divers of
my noble ancestors before this
time have had, and in long dis-
cent continued:

In this my first suite, shewing
his good minde towards me, he
did not onely first delay me, and
afterward deny me, but gave
me such unkind words, with
such taunts and retaunts, yea in
manner checke and check mate
to the uttermost prooffe of my

patience. As though I had never furthered him but hindered him, as though I had put him downe, and not set him up; yet al these ingratitude, & undeserued unkindnesse, I bare closely and suffer patiently and covertly remembred, outwardly dissembling that I inwardly thought, and so with a painted countenance I passed the last summer in his last company, not without many faire promises, but without any good deedes. But when I was credibly informed of the death of the two young innocents, his owne naturall Nephewes; contrary to his faith and promise, to the which God bee my judge, I never agreed nor condescended, O Lord, how my veins panted, how my body trembled, and my heart inwardly grudged, in so much that, I so abhorred the
fight

sight, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his court, except I should bee openly revenged. The end whereof was doubtfull, and so I fained a cause to depart, and with a merry countenance and a dis-pightful heart I tooke my leave humbly of him (hee thinking nothing lesse then that I was displeased) and so returned to *Brecknocke* to you.

But in the journey as I returned, whether it were by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, or by Melancolous disposition, I had divers and sundry imaginations how to deprive this unnaturall Vncle, and bloody butcher, from his royall seate, and princely dignity. First I fantasied, that if I list to take upon me the Crowne, and imperiall Scepter of the Realme, now was the time fit and

convenient. For now was the way made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasion given, which now neglected, should peradventure never take such effect and conclusion. For I saw hee was disdained of the Lords temporall, execrate and accursed of the Lords spiritual, detested of all gentlemen, and despised of all the commonaltie: So that I saw my chance as perfectly, as I saw my owne Image in a glasse, that there was no person (if I had beene greedy to attempt the enterprise) could nor should have won the ring, or got the goale before me. And on this point I rested in imagination: secretly with my selfe, two dayes at *Teukesbury*. And from thence sojourning I mused & thought it was not best nor convenient to take vpon me as a conquerour, for then I knew that all men, and especial-
ly

ly the nobilitie, would with all their power withstand me, both for rescuing of possessions and tenours, as also for subverting of the whole estate, Lawes, and Customes of the Realme: Such a power hath a conquerour, as you know well enough my Lord. But at the last, in all this doubtfull case there sprang a new branch out of my head, which surely I thought should have brought forth faire flowers, but the sunne was so hot that they turned to dry weedes, for I suddenly remembred that Lord *Edmond* Duke of *Somerset* my Gandfather was with King *Henry* the sixt in the second and third degrees from *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster* lawfully begotten: So that I thought sure my mother being eldest daughter to Duke *Edmond*, that I was next to King *Henry* the sixt of the house of

Lanca-

Lancaster. This title pleased well such as I made privie of my counsell, but much more it encouraged my foolish desire, and elevated my ambitious intent, in so much that I clerely judged, and in mine own minde was determinately resolved, that I was indubitate heire of the house of *Lancaster*, and thereupon concluded, to make my first foundation, and erect my new building. But whether God so ordered, or by fortune it so chanced, while I was in a mase, either to conclude so dainely on this title, and to set it open amongst the common people, or to keepe it secret a while, see the chance: as I rode betweene *Worcester* and *Bridgorth*, I encountered with the lady *Margaret*, Countesse of *Richmond*, now wife to the Lord *Stanley*, which is the very daughter and sole heyre to
 Lord

John Duke of Somerset, my
grandfathers elder brother :
Which was as cleane out of my
minde as though I had never
never seene her, so that shee and
her sonne the Earle of Richmond
be both bulwarke and portco-
lice betwene, and the gate, to
enter into the majesty royall
and getting of the Crowne.
And when wee had communed
a little concerning her sonne, as
I shall shew you after, and were
departed, shee to our Lady of
Worcester, and I toward Shrews-
bury : I then new changed and
in manner amased, began to
dispute with my selfe, litle con-
sidering that thus my earnest
was turned even to a tittle not
woth esteeme. Presently I
imagined whether I were best
to take upon me, by the election
of the nobilitie and commonal-
tie, which me thought easie to
be done, the usurper King thus
being

being in hatred and abhorred of this whole Realme, or to take it by power, which standeth in fortunes chance, and difficile to bee at chieved and brought to passe. Thus rumbling & tossing, in the waves of ambiguitie, betweene the stone and sacrifice, I considered first the office, duty, and paine of a King, which surely thinke that no mortall man can justly, and truly observe, except hee be called, elected, and specially appointed by God, as King *David* and divers others have beene.

But further I remembred that if I once tooke on mee the Scepter, and the governance of the Realme: That of two extreame enemies I was daily sure, but of one trusty friend (which now adayes bee gone a pilgrimage) I was neither assured nor credibly ascertained
(such

(such is the worlds mutation)
for I manifestly perceived that
the daughters of King *Edward*,
and their alies, and friends,
which be no small number, be-
ing both, for his sake much be-
loved, and also for the great
injurie & manifest tyranni done
to them, by the new usurper,
much lamented, and pittied,
would never cease to barke if
they cannot bite at the one side
of me. Likewise my cousin the
Earle of *Richmond*, his aides &
kinsfolke which be not of little
power, will surely attempt like
a fierce grayhound, either to
bite or to pierce mee on the o-
ther side. So that my life and
rule should ever hang by a
haire, never in quiet, but ever in
doubt of death or deposition.
And if the said two linages of
Yorke and *Lancaster*, which so
long have strived for the impe-
riall Diadem, should joyne in
one

one against mee, then were I surely mated and the game gotten. Wherefore I have clearely determined, and with my selfe concluded, utterly to relinquish all such fantastick imaginati-
 ons concerning the obtaining of the Crowne. But all such plagues, calamities and troubles (which I feared and suspected) might have chanced on me if I had taken the rule and regiment of this reale, I shall with a reredemaine so make them rebound to our commonemie that calleth himselfe King, that the best stopper that hee hath at tenice shall not well stop without a fault: for as I told you before, the Countesse of *Richmond* in my returne from the new named King, meeting mee in the high way, prayed me first for kindred sake, secondly for the love I bare to my grandfather Duke *Humphrey*, which
 was

was sworne brother to her father, to move the King to bee good to her sonne *Henry Earle of Richmond*, and to licence him with his favour to returne againe into *England*: and if it were his pleasure so to doe, shee promised that the Earle her sonne should marry one of King *Edwards* daughters at the appointment of the King without any thing to be taken or demanded for the said espousals, but onely the Kings favour, which request I soone overpassed, and gave her faire words and so departed. But after in my lodging, when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie, and did circumspectly ponder them, I fully adjudged that the holy Ghost caused he to move a thing (the end whereof she could not consider) both for the security of the Realme as also for the preferment

ment of her child, and the destruction and small confusion of the common enemy King *Richard*. Which thing she neither then thought, I am sure, as I by her words could make conjecture, nor I my selfe cast not her desire to be so profitable to the Realme as I now doe perceive, but such a Lord is God, that with a little sparkle he kindleth a great fire, and so finally to declare to you the very conclusion to the which I am both bent and set, my mind is, and my power and purpose shall helpe, that the Earle of *Richmond* very heire of the house of *Lancaster* (in the quarrell of the which lineage, both my father and grandfather lost their lives in battell) shall take to wife Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter to K. *Edward*; by the w^{ch} marriage both the houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* may bee obtain-

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obtained and united in one, to the cleare stablishment of the title to the Crowne of this noble Realme. To the which conclusion if the mothers of both parties, and especially the Earle himselfe, and the Lady will agree, I doubt not but the bragging Bore, which with his tuskes raleth every mans skinne, shall not only be brought to confusion as he hath deserved, but that this Empire shal ever be certain of an undubitate heire, and then shall all civill and intestine war cease, which hath so long continued, to the parting of many mens Crownes, & this Realme shall bee reduced againe to quietnesse, renoune, and glory. This invention of the Duke many men thought after, that it was more imagined for the inward hatred that he beare to King *Richard*, then for any favour that hee bare to the Earle
of

of *Richmond*. But of such doubtfull matters, it is not best to judge for erring to farre from the minde and entent of the actour: But whatſoever he intended, this device once opened to King *Richard* was the very occasion, that hee was rounded shorter by the whole head, withouttattainder or judgement.

When the Duke had laid; the Bishop, which ever favored the house of *Lancaster*, was wondrous joyfull, and much rejoyced to heare this device, for now came the winde about even as hee would have it; for all his imagination tended to this effect, to have King *Richard* subdued, and to have the lines of *K. Edward* and King *Henry* the sixt againe raised and advanced. But Lord how hee rejoyced to thinke how that by this marriage the linages of *Torke* and *Lancaster* should bee conjoyned

in.

in one, to the very steadfastnesse
of the publique wealth of this
Reialme.

And lest the Dukes courage
should swage, or his minde
should againe alter, as it did of-
ten before, as you may easily
perceive by his owne tale; Hee
thought to set up all the failes
hee had, to the intent that the
ship of his pretended purpose
might come shortly to some
sure port: And said to the
Duke, my Lord; sith by Gods
high provision & your incom-
parable wisdom and policie,
this noble conjunction was first
mowed, now it is convenient,
yea and necessary to consider,
what personages and friends
we shall first make privie of this
high device and politicke con-
clusion. By my truth quoth the
Duke wee will begin with my
Lady of Richmond the Earles
mother, which knoweth where
he

he is, either in captivitie or at large in Brytaine. For I heard say that the Duke of Britaine restored him to liberty immediately after the death of King Edward, by whose meanes hee was restrayned. Sith you will begin that way (said the Bishop) I have an old friend with the Countesse, a man sober, secret, and well witted, called *Reignold Bray*, whose prudent policie I have knowne to have compassed things of great importance for whom I shall secretly send if it bee your pleasure, & I doubt not he wil gladly come, and with a good will. So with a little diligence, the Bishop wrote a letter to *Reignold Bray*, requiting him to come to *Brecknock* with speede, for great and urgent causes touching his Mistresse: and no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into

into *Lancashire* where *Bray* was with the Countesse and Lord *Thomas Stanley* her husband, & delivered the letter, which when hee had read, hee tooke it as a signe or presage of some good fortune to come, and so with the messenger hee came to the Castle of *Brecknocke*, where the Duke and the Bishop declared what thing was devised both to set the Realme in a quiet steadfastnesse, and also for the high preferment of the Earle of *Richmonds* sonne to his Lady and Mistresse: Willing her first to compasse how to obtaine the good wil of Queene *Elizabeth*, and also of her eldest daughter bearing the same name: and after secretly to send to her son into *Britaine* to declare what high honour was prepared for him if he would sweare to marry the Lady *Elizabeth* as soone as hee was King and in Royall possession.

possession of the Realme. *Reynold Bray* with a glad heart forgetting nothing hiven to him in charge, in gread hast and with good speede returned to the Countesse his Lady and Mistressse.

When *Bray* was departed and this great dolefull vessell once set a broach, the Bishop thrusting for nothing more then for liberty, when he saw the Duke pleasant and well minded toward him told, the Duke that if he were in his Isle of *Ely* hee could make many friends to further their enterprise, and if he were there & had but foure daies warning, hee little regarded the malice of King *Richard*, his countrey was so strong. The Duke knew well all this to bee true, but yet loth hee was that the Bishop should depart, for he knew well that as long as the Bishop was with him, hee was
sure

sure of politique advice, sage
councell, and circumspect pro-
ceeding. And so hee gave the
Bishop faire words, saying that
hee should shortly depart, and
that wel accompanied for feare
of enemies. The Bishop being
as wittie as the Duke was wil-
lie, did not tarry till the Dukes
company were assembled, but
secretly disguised in a night de-
parted (to the Dukes great dis-
pleasure) and came to his see of
Ely, where he found money and
friends, and so sayled into *Flan-*
ders, where he did the Earle of
Richmond good service, and ne-
ver returned againe till the
Earle of *Richmond* after being
King sent for him, and shortly
promoted him to the See of
Canterbury. Thus the Bishop
wound himselfe from the Duke
when he had most neede of his
ayde, for if hee had tarried still
the Duke had not made so ma-

ny blabbes of his councell, nor put so much confidence in the *Welshmen*, nor yet so temerariouſly ſet forward without knowledge of his friends as hee did, which things were his ſo-daine overthrow as they that knew it did report.

When *Reighnald Bray* had declared his meſſage, and priue instruction to the Counteſſe of *Richmond* his Miſtriſſe, no marvell though ſhe were joyous and glad, both of the good newes and alſo for the obtaining of ſuch a high friend in his ſonnes cauſe as the Duke was, wherefore ſhee willing not to ſlip this matter, but to farther it to the uttermoſt of her power and abilitie, deviſed a meanes how to breake this matter to *Queene Elizabeth* then being in ſanctuary at *Weſtminſter*. And thereupon ſhee having in her family at that time for the preſervation of

of her health, a certaine Welsh-
man called *Lewes*, learned in
Physicke, which for his gravitie
and experience was well known
and much esteemed amongst
great estates of the Realme:
with whom she used sometimes
liberally and familiarly to
talke; now having opportunity
and occasion to break her mind
unto him of this weightie mat-
ter, declared that the time was
come that her sonne should bee
joyned in marriage with Lady
Elizabeth, daughter and heire
to King *Edward*, and that King
Richard being taken and repu-
ted of all men for the common
enemy of the Realme, should
out of all honour and estate bee
dejected, and of his rule and
kingdome be clearely spoyled
and expulsed: and required
him to go to *Queene Elizabeth*
(with whome in his facultie hee
was of counsell) not as a messen-
ger,

ger, but as one that came friendly to visite and console her, and as time and place should require to make her privie of this device, not as a thing concluded, but as a purpose by him imagined. This Physitian did not long linger to accomplish her desire, but with good diligence repaired to the Queene, being still in the sanctuary at *Westminster*. And when hee saw time proper and convenient for his purpose, hee said unto her: Madam, although my imagination bee very simple, and my device more foolish, yet for the entire affection that I beare towards you and your children, I am so bold to utter unto you a secret and privie conceit that I have cast & compassed in my fantasticall braine. When I well remember, and no lesse consider the great losse and damage that you have sustay-

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ned by the death of your noble and loving husband, and the great dolour and sorrow that you have suffered and tolerated by the cruell murther of your innocent children: I can no lesse doe both of bounden duty and christian charity, then daily study, and houely imagine not onely how to bring your heart to comfort & gladnesse, but also devise how to revenge the righteous quarrell of you and your children on that bloody blood-sucker and cruell tyrant King *Richard*.

And first consider, what battell, what manslaughter, what mischief hath risen in this Realme by the dissention betweene the two noble houses of *Torke* and *Lancaster*, which two families (as I have contrived) if they may bee joyned in one, I thinke, yea and doubt not but your line shal be againe

restored to the pristinate estate & degree to your great joy and comfort, and to the utter confusion of your mortal enemy the usurper King. You know very wel madam, that of house the of *Lancaster*, the Earle of *Richmond* is nket of blood, which is living & a lusty young bachelor, & to the house of *Yorke* your daughters now are heires : if you could agree and invent the meanes how to couple your eldest daughter with the young Earle of *Richmond* in matrimony, no doubt but the usurper of the Realme should bee shortly deposed, and your heire againe to her right restored.

When the Queene had heard this friendly motion (which was as farre from her thought as the man that the rude people say is in the Moone) Lord how her spirits revived, and how her heart leapt in her body for
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joy and gladnesse. And first giving laude to almighty God as the chiefe authour of her comfort, secondly to Master *Lewes* the deviser of the good newes and tidings, instantly besought him, that as hee had beene the first inventer of so good an enterprise, that now hee would not relinquish nor desist to follow the same: desiring him further (because hee was appertaining to the Countesse of *Richmond* mother to the Earle *Henry*) that hee would with all diligence resort to her then lodging in her husbands place within the citie of *London*, and to declare on the *Queenes* behalfe to the Countesse, that all the friends and favourers of King *Edward* her husband, should assist and take part with the Earle of *Richmond* her sonne, so that he would take a corporall oath after the Kingdome obtained,

to espouse and take to wife the Lady *Elizabeth* her daughter, or else Lady *Cecile*, if the eldest daughter were not then living.

Master *Lewes* with all dexteritie so sped his businesse, that he made and concluded a finall end and determination of this enterprise betweene the two mothers, and because hee was a Physitian, and out of all suspicion and misdeeming, hee was the common curre and daily messenger betweene them, ayding and setting forth the invented conspiracie against King *Richard*. So the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond* brought into a good hope of the preferment of her sonne, made *Reynold Bray* her most faithfull servant cheife soliciter and privie procurer of this conspiracie, giving him in charge secretly to invegle and attract such persons

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sons of nobility to joyne with her, and to take her part as hee knew to bee ingenious, faithfull, diligent, and of activity. This *Reighnold Bray* within few daies brought unto his lure (first of all taking of every person a solemne oath to be true and secret) *sir Gyles Daubeney*, *sir Iohn Cheiney* knight, *Richard Gylford*, and *Thomas Raine* Esquiors, and divers others. The Countesse of *Richmond* was not so diligent for her part, but *Queene Elizabeth* was as vigilant on the other side, and made friends, and appointed Councillers to set forward and advance her businesse. In the meane season the Countesse of *Richmond* tooke into her service *Christopher Vrswicke*, an honest and a wise Priest, and after an oath of him for to bee secretly taken and sworne, shee uttered to him all her mind & counsell,

adhibiting to him the more confidence and truth that he all his life had favoured and taken part with King *Henry* the sixt, and as a speciall jewell put to her service by sir *Lewes* her Physitian. So the mother studious for the prosperitie of her sonne appointed this *Christopher Vrsewicke* to saile into *Britaine* to the Earle of *Richmond*, and to declare and to demonstrate to him all pacts and agreements betweene her and the Queene agreed and concluded: But suddenly shee remembring that the Duke of *Buckingham* was one of the first inventers, and a secret founder of this enterprise, determined to send some personage of more estimation then her chaplaine, and so elected *Hugh Conway* esquire, and sent him into with a great some of money to her son, giving him charge to declare to
 Earle

Earle the great love especiall fa-
vour that the most part of the
nobilitie of the Realme bare to-
wards him, the benevolēt minds
which the whole commonaltie
frankly offered & liberally ex-
hibited to him, willing & advi-
sing him not to neglect so good
an occasion apparently offered,
but with all speede & diligence
to addiēt and settle his minde
& full intention how to returne
home againe into *England*,
where hee was both wished and
looked for, giving him farther
monition and counsell to take
land and arrivall in the princi-
paltie of *Wales*, where hee
should not doubt to find both
aide, comfort and friends. *Richard*
Guyllford, lest *Hugh Con-*
wey might fortune to bee taken
or stopped at *Plimmouth*, where
he intended to take his naviga-
tion, sent out of *Kent Thomas*
Rame with the same instructi-

on: and both made such diligence and had such winde and weather, the one by land from *Calice*, and the other by water from *Plimmonth*, that within lesse then an hower both arrived in the Duke of *Britaines* court, and spake with the Earle of *Richmond*, w^{ch} from the death of K. *Edward* went at his pleasure and liberty, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effect of their message and Embassage. When the Earle had received this joyfull message, which was the more pleasant because it was unlooked for, hee rendred to Jesu his saviour his most humble and hartly thanks, being in firme credence and beleefe that things as hee with busie minde and laborious entent had wished and desired, could never have taken any effect without the helpe and preferment of Almighty God.

God. And now being put in comfort of his long longing, he did communicate and breake to the Duke of *Brittaine* all his secrets and privie messages which were to him declared, advertizing him that hee was entred into a sure and steadfast hope to obtaine and get the Crowne and Kingdome of the Realme of *England*, desiring him both of his good will and friendly helpe toward the achieving of his offered enterprise, promising him when hee came to his intended purpose, to render to him againe equall kindneses and condigne gratulations.

Although the Duke before that day by *Thomas Hutton* Embassadour from King *Richard* had both by money and prayers been solicited and moved to put againe into safe custody

custody the Earle of *Richmond*,
 hee neverthelesse promised
 faithfully to aide him, and
 his promises hee truely
 performed.

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The third yeere.

WHerupon the Earle
with all diligence
sent into *England*
again *Hugh Con-*
ney and *Thomas*
Rame, which should declare his
comming shortly into *England*,
to the intent that all the things
which by counsell might bee
for his purpose provided,
should be accelerate and hasted,
and that all things doubtfull
should of his friends bee pru-
dently foreseene, in avoiding
all engins and snares which
King *Richard* had or might have
set in disturbance of his pur-
pose,

pose, and he in the meane season would make his abode still in *Britaine*, till things necessary for his journey were prepared and brought in a readinesse.

In the meane season the Chiefetaynes of the conjuration in *England* began together many enterprises: Some in convenient fortresses put strong garrisons: Some kept armed men privily, to the intent when they should have knowledge of the Earles landing, they would beginne to stirre up the warre: Others did secretly move and solícite the people to rise and make an insurrection: Others (amongst whom *Iohn Morton* Bishop of *Ely* then being in *Flanders* was chiefe) by privie letters, and cloked messengers, did stirre and invite to this new conjunction, all such which they certainly knew to have a rooted hatred, or to beare a cankered

kered malice towards King Richard and his proceedings.

Although this great enterprise were never so privily handled, and so secretly amongst so circumspect persons treated, compassed & conveyed, yet knowledge thereof came to the eares of K. Richard, which with the sodaine chance was not a little moved and astonied. First, because hee had no host ready prepared and conscribed. Secondarily, hee knew not where to occurre and meete his enemies, or whither to goe or where to tarrie. Wherefore he determined to dissemble the matter, as though hee knew nothing, till hee had assembled his host, and in the meane season either by the rumour of the common people, or by the diligence of his exploratours and espialles to investigate & search out all the Councells, determi-

minations, intents and compasses of his close adversaries, or else by crafty policie to intercept and take some person of the same conjuration, considering that there is no more secret nor hid especiall than that which lurketh in dissimulation of knowledge and intelligence, or is hidden in the name and shaddow of counterfeit humanitie and fained kindnesse. And because hee knew the Duke of *Buckingham* to bee the chiefe head and aide of the conjuration, he thought it most necessary to pluck him from that part either by faire promises or open warre. Whereupon he addressed his loving letters to the Duke, as full of mellifluous words, humanitie & familiaritie as the interior cogitation & privie meaning was full of malice, rancor, and poyson: giving farther in charge to the
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messenger that carried the letter to promise to the Duke on his behalfe golden hilles and silver rivers, and with all gentle and pleasant meanes to perswade and exhort the Duke to come to the Court. But the Duke as wilie as the King, mistrusting the faire flattering words, and the gay promises to him so suddenly without any cause offered, knowing the craftie castes of K. Richards bow, which in divers affaires before times hee had seene practised, required the King to pardon him, excusing himselfe that hee was so diseased in his stomacke, that hee could scarce take any refection or rest. King Richard not being content with this excuse, would in no wise admit the same, but incontinent directed to the Duke other letters of a more rougher and hautie sort, not without minatorie termes

termes and checking words, commanding him, all excuses set apart, to repaire without any delay to his royall presence. The Duke made to the messenger a determinate answer that he would not come to his mortall enemy, whom hee neither loved nor favored : and immediately prepared open warre against him, and perswaded all his complices and partakers, that every man should in his quarter with all diligence raise up the people and make a commotion. And by this meanes almost in one moment *Thomas Marques Dorcet* came out of Sanctuary, where hee since the beginning of *Richards* dayes had continued, whose life by the onely helpe of *fr Thomas Lovel Esquier*, was preserved from all danger and perill in this troublous world, & gathered together a great band
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of men in *Yorkeſhire*. Sir *Edward Courtney* and *Peter* his brother Biſhop of *Exeter*, raiſed another army in *Devonſhire* and *Cornewall*.

In *Kent*, *Richard Gilford*, and other Gentlemen, collected a great company of Souldiers, and openly began Warre. But King *Richard* which in the meane time had gotten together a great ſtrength and uiſſaunce, thinking it not moſt for his part beneficiall, to diſperſe and diuide his Arnie into ſmall branches, and particularly to perſecute any one of the conjuration by himſelfe; determined, all other being ſet aſide, with his whole uiſſaunce to ſet on the chiefe head, which was the Duke of *Buckingham*. And ſo removing from *London*, hee tooke his journey toward *Salſbury*, to the intent that in his journey, hee might ſet on the
Dukes

Dukes armie, if he might know him in any place encamped, or in order of Battaile arayed. The King was scarce two dayes journey from *Salisbury* when the Duke of *Buckingham* accompanied with a great power of wilde *Welshmen*, whom he, being a man of that courage and sharpe speech, in manner against their willes had rather thereto enforced & compelled by Lordly and straite commandement then by liberall wages and gentle reteynour, which thing was the very occasion why they left him desolate and cowardly forsooke him. The Duke with all his power marched through the forrest of *Deane*, intending to have passed the river *Severne* at *Gloucester*, and there to have joyned in army with the *Courtneys* and other Western men of his confederacy and affinity, which if

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hee had done, no doubt but K. Richard, had beene in great jeopardy either of privation of his Realme or losse of his life or both. But see the chance, before he could attaine to *Severne* side, by force of continuall raine and moysture, the river rose so high, that it overflowed all the countrey adjoyning, insomuch that men were drowned in their beds, houses with the extreme violence were overturned, children were carried about the fields, swimming in cradles, beastes were drowned on hills, which rage of water lasted continually tenne dayes, insomuch that in the countrey adjoyning they call it to this day, the great water, or the Duke of *Buckingham*s great water. By this inundation the passages were soclosed, that the Duke could not come over *Severne* to his complices, nor they to him, during the

the which time, the Welshmen lingering idely without money, victuals, or wages, sodainly scaled and departed: and for all the Dukes faire promises, menaces, and enforcements, they would in no wise either goe further or abide. The Duke thus abandoned and left almost alone, was of necessity compelled to fly, and in his flight was with this sodaine misfortune marvelously disdained: and being unprovided, what counsell hee should take and what way he should follow, like a man in despaire not knowing what to doe, of very trust and confidence conveyed himself into the house of *Humphrey Banister* his servant, besides *Shrewesbury*, whom hee had tenderly brought up, and whom he above all men loved, favoured and trusted, now not doubting but that in his ex-

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extreme necessity, hee should finde him faithfull, secret and trusty, intending there covertly to lurk, till either he might raise againe a new army, or else shortly to saile into *Britaine* to the Earle of *Richmond*.

But when it was knowne to his adherents which were ready to give battaile, that his hoste was scaled and had left him almost alone, and was fled and could not bee found, they were sodainely amased and stricken with a sodain feare, that every man like persons desperate shifted for himselfe and fled, some went to Sanctuary and to solitarie places, some fled by sea, whereof the most part within a few dayes after arrived safely in the *Dutchy of Britany*. Among which number were these persons, *Peter Courtney* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Sir Edmond Courtney* his brother, by King *Henry* the

the seventh, after created Earle of Devonshire, Thomas Marques Dorcet, Iohn Lord Welles, Sir Iohn Burchier, Sir Edmond Woodvile a valiant man in Armes, brother to Queene Elizabeth, Sir Rrbert Willoughby, Sir Gyles Dabeney, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Iohn Cheney and his two brethren, Sir William Barkeley, Sir William Brandon, and Thomas his brother, Sir Richard Edgcombe, all these for the most part being Knights, and Iohn Halwell, Edward Powninges a politike captaine. At this very season Iohn Morton Bishop of Ely, and Christopher Vrswicke Priest, and another company of noble men sojourned in *Flanders*, and by letters and messengers procured many enemies against King Richard, which using a vigilant eye, and a quicke remembrance, being newly come to *Salisbury*,
having

having perfect notice & knowledge how the Duke was fled, his complices intended to passe out of the Realme. First he sent men of warre to all the next ports and passages to keepe straightly the sea coast, so that no person should passe outward nor take land in the Realme, without their assent and knowledge. Secondly, he made Proclamation, that what person could shew and reveale where the Duke of *Buckingham* was, should be highly rewarded, if he were a bondman hee should be enfranchised and set at libertie, if he were of free bloud, hee should have a generall pardon & bee remunerate with a thousand poundes. Furthermore, because he understood by *Thomas Hutton*, which as you have heard was newly returned out of *Britaine*, that *Francis Duke of Britaine* not onely refused to

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keepe the Earle of *Richmond* as a prisoner at his contemplati-
on and for his sake, but also
was ready to aide and succour
the said Earle with men, money,
and all things necessarie for his
transporting into *England*.
Wherefore hee rigged and sent
out shippes of warre well furni-
shed and decked with men and
artillery, to scoure and keepe
that part of the sea that lieth a-
gainst *Britaine*, to the intent
that if the Earle of *Richmond*
would adventure to saile to-
ward *Englnad*, either he should
be taken captive or be profligate
and driven from the coast of
England. And moreover, to the
intent that every coast, way, pas-
sage, and corner should be dili-
gently watched and kept, he set
at every dubious and suspected
place, men of warre, to seeke,
search, and enquire if any crea-
ture could tell tidings of the
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Duke of *Buckingham* or of any of his confederation, adherents, fauours or partakers.

While this busie search was diligently applied and put in execution, *Humphrey Banister* (were it more for feare of losse of life and goods, or attracted and provoked by the avaricious desire of the thousand pounds) he bewrayed his guest and master to *John Mitton* then Sheriffe of *Shropshire*, which suddenly with a strong power of men in armes apprehended the Duke in a little grove adjoyning to the mansion of *Humphrey Banister*, and in great haste and evill speede conveighed him apparelled in a pilled blacke cloke to the citie of *Salisbury* where King *Richard* then kept his household.

Whether this *Banister* bewrayed the Duke more for feare then covetousnes many men

doe doubt: but sure it is, that shortly after hee had betrayed the Duke his Master, his sonne and heire waxed mad and so died in a Bores stie, his eldest daughter of excellent beautie was suddely stricken with a foule leprosie, his second sonne very marvelously deformed of his limbes and made decrepid, his younger sonne in a small puddle was strangled & drowned, and hee himselfe being of extreame age arraigned and found guilty of a murther, and by his Clergy saved. And as for his thousand pound, King Richard gave him not one farthing; saying, that hee which would bee untrue to so good a master, would bee false to all other: howbeit, some say that he had a small office or a ferme to stoppe his mouth withall. The Duke being by certaine of the Kings counsell diligently

upon

upon interrogatories examined what things he knew prejudiciall to the Kings person, opened and declared frankely and freely all the conjuration without dissembling or glosing, trusting because he had truly and plainly revealed and confessed all things that were of him required, that hee should have licence to speake to the King which (whether it were to sue for pardon and grace, or whether hee being brought to his presence, would have sticked him with a dagger, as men then judged) he sore desired and required. But when hee had confessed the whole fact and conspiracie upon *Alsonles* day without arrignment or judgement, he was at *Salisbury* in the open market-place on a new skaffold beheaded and put to death. This death (as a reward) the Duke of *Buckingham* received

ved at the hands of King *Richard*, whom he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had holden, sustayned and set forward above all Gods forbode.

By this all men may easily perceive that hee not onely loseth both his labour, travell and industry, & further stayneth and spotteth his line with a perpetuall ignominy and reproach, which in evil and mischief assisteth and aideth an evill disposed person; considering for the most part, that hee for his friendly favour should receive some great displeasure or unfortunate chance. Beside that God of his justice in conclusion appointeth to him a condigne pain and affliction for his merits and deserts. While these things were thus handled and ordered in *England*, *Henry Earle of Richmond* prepared an army of
five

five thousand manly Brittons,
and forty well furnished ships.
When all things were prepared
in a readinesse, and the day of
departing and setting forward
was appointed, which was the
twelfth day of the moneth of
October, in the yeare of the in-
carnation of our Redeemer, one
thousand foure hundred fortie
eight, and in the second yeare
of King *Richards* raigne, the
whole army went on shipbord
and hoysed up their sailes, and
with a prosperous winde tooke
the sea: but towards night the
winde changed, and the wea-
ther turned, and so high and
terrible a tempest suddenly a-
rose, that with the very power
and strength of the storme, the
ships were disperfed, severed
and separated a sunder: some
by force were driven into *Nor-*
mandy, some were compelled
to returne againe into *Britaine*.

The ship wherein the Earle of *Richmond* was, associate onely with one other barke was all night tossed and turmoyled. In the morning after, when the rage of the furious tempest was asswaged, and the ire of the blustering was something appeased, about the hower of noone the same day, the Earle approached to the south part of the Realme of *England*, even at the mouth of the Haven of *Pole* in the county of *Dorset*, where hee might plainly perceive all the Sea bankes and shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and souldiers appointed and deputed there to defend his arrivall and landing as before is mentioned. Wherefore hee gave straight charge and fore commandement, that no person should once presume to take land and goe to the shore, untill such

time

time as the whole navie were assembled and congregated. And while he expected and lingered tarrying for that purpose, he sent out a shippe-boate towards the land side to know, whether they that stood there in such a number and so well furnished in apparrell defensive were his capitall foes and enemies, or else his friends, fosterers, and comforters. They that were sent in exploration and message were instantly desired of the men of warre keeping these coasts (which thercof were before instructed and admonished) to descend & take land, affirming that they were appointed by the Duke of *Buckingham* there to waite and tarry for the arrivall and landing of the Earle of *Richmond*, and to conduct safely to the campe where the Duke not farre off lay encamped with a populous armie and an host

of great strength and vigour, to the intent that the Duke and the Earle joyning in puissaunces and forces together, might prosecute and chase King *Richard* being destitute of men, and in manner desperate and fugitive, and so by that meanes and their owne labours and industry to obtaine the end of their enterprise which they had before begunne.

The Earle of *Richmond* suspecting their flattering request to be but a fraud (as it was indeed) after that hee perceived none of his ships to appeare in his sight, he weighed up his anchors & hoysed up his sayles, having a prosperous and strenable winde and a fresh gale sent even by God to deliver him from that perill and jeopardie, arrived safe and in securitie in the Dutchy of *Normandy*, where he to refresh and solace his soldiers

diers and peope, tooke his recreation by the space of thre daies, and clearely determined with part of his company to passe all by land againe into *Britaine*. And in the meane season he sent Oratours to the French King called *Charles* the eight, which newly succeeded his father King *Lewis* the eleventh, not long before departed to God, requiring of him a safe conduct and licence to passe through his countrey of *Normandy* into *Britaine*. The yong King having compassion of the misfortune and unfortunate chance of the Earle of *Richmond*, not onely gently granted and assigned to him a pasporte, but also liberally disbursed and departed to him a convenient some of money for his conduct and expenses necessary in his long journey and passage. But the Earle trusting on the French Kings

Kings humanity adventured to send his ships home into *Britaine*, and to set forward himselfe by land on his journie, making no great haste till his messengers were returned, w^{ch} being with the benefit so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe so encouraged, marched towards *Britaine* with all diligent celeritie, intending there to consult further with his lovers and friends of his affaires and enterprises.

When hee was returned againe into *Britaine* hee was certified by credible information that the Duke of *Buckingham* had lost his head, and that the Marques *Dorset*, and a great number of noble men of *England* had a little before enquired and searched for him there, and were now returned to *Vannes*.

When hee had heard these newes thus reported, hee first
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forrowed, & dolorously lamented the first attempt and setting forward of his friends, and especially of the Nobility not to have more fortunately succeeded. Secondly, hee rejoyced on the other part, that God had sent him so many valiant and prudent Captaines to bee his companions in his martiall enterprises, trusting surely, and nothing doubting in his owne opinion, but that all his businesse should bee wisely compassed and brought to a good conclusion. Wherefore hee determining with all diligence to accelerate and set forward his new begun businesse, departed to *Renes*, and sent certaine of his privie servitours to conduct and bring the Marquis and the other Noble men to his presence. When they knew that hee was safely returned into *Britaine*, Lord how they rejoyced

ced and applauded, for before that time they missed him, and knew not in what part of the world to make investigation or search for him.

For they doubted and no lesse feared lest hee had taken land in *England*, and fallen into the hands of King *Richard*, in whose person they knew well was neither mercy nor compassion. Wherefore in all speedy manner they galloped towards him, and him reverently saluted, which meeting after great joy and solace, and no small thanks and gratifications given and rendered on both parts, they consulted and advisedly debated & commoned of their great businesse and weightie enterprise, in the which season the solene feast of the Nativitie of our Saviour Christ happened, on which day all the *English* Lords went with great solemnity

lemnity to the chiefe Church of the Cittie, and there each gave faith and promise to other. The Earle himselfe first tooke a corporall oath, and on his honour promising that incontinent after he should be possessed of the Crowne and dignity of the Realme of *England*, hee would bee conjoynd in matrimony with the Lady *Elizabeth* daughter to King *Edward* the fourth. Then all the company sware to him fealtie, and did to him homage as though he had beene that time the Crowned King and annointed Prince, promising faithfully & firmly assuring that they would not onely lose their worldly substance, but also bee deprived of their lives and worldly felicity, rather then to suffer King *Richard*, that tyrant, longer to rule and raigne over them.

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and taken, the Earle of Richmond declared and communicated all these doings to Francis Duke of Brittain, desiring and most heartily requiring him to aide him with a great army to conduct him into his Countrey, which so sore longed and looked for his returne, and to the which he was by the more part of the Nobilitie called and desired, which (with Gods ayde and the Dukes comfort) hee doubted not in short time to obtaine, requiring him further to lend to him a convenient some of money, affirming that all such somes of money which he had received of his especiall friends, were spent and exhausted in the preparation of the last journey made towards England, which somes of money after his enterprise once achieved, he in the word of a Prince faithfully promised to repay

repay and restore againe. The Duke promised him aide and helpe, upon confidence wherof he rigged his ships, & set forth his Navie well decked with ordinance, & warlikely furnished with all things necessary, to the intent to saile forward shortly, and to see no convenient time slackly overpassed, nor bee pretermitted.

In the meane season, King Richard apprehended in divers parts of the Realme, certaine gentlemen of the Earle of *Richmonds* faction and confederation, which either intended to saile into *Britaine* towards him, or else at his landing to assist and aide him. Amongst whom, sir *George Browne*, sir *Roger Clifford* and foure others were put to execution at *London*, and sir *Thomas Sentliger* which had married the Dutches of *Exeter* the Kings owne sister,

sister, and *Thomas Rame* and
 diuerse others were executed at
Exeter. Besides these persons,
 diuerse of his household servants
 whom either hee suspected or
 doubted, were by great crueltie
 put to shamefull death. After
 this hee called a Parliament in
 the w^{ch} hee attainted the Earle
 of *Richmond* and all other per-
 sons which were fled out of
 the Realme for feare of any o-
 ther cause, as enemies to him &
 their naturall countrey, and all
 their lands, goods, and posses-
 sions were confiscate and seased
 to the Kings use. And yet not
 content with this prey which
 no doubt was of no small va-
 lue and moment, hee laid on
 the peoples neckes a great taxe
 and tollage, and surely necessity
 to that act in a manner compell-
 ed him. For what with pur-
 ging and declaring his inno-
 cencie concerning the murther

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of his Nephewes towards the world, & what with cost to obtaine the love and favour of the commonaltie (which outwardly glosed and openly dissembled with him) hee gave prodigally so many and so great rewards, that now both hee lacked and, scarce knew honestly how to borrow.

In this troublous season, nothing was more marvelled at then that the Lord *Stanley* had not beene taken and reputed as an enemy to the King, considering the working of the Lady *Margaret* his wife, mother to the Earle of *Richmond*: but forasmuch as the enterprize of a woman was of him reputed of no regard or estimation, and that the Lord *Thomas* her husband had purged himselfe sufficiently to be innocent of all doings and attempts by her perpetrated

petrated and committed, it was given him in charge to keepe her in some secret place at home, without having any servant or company, so that from thenceforth shee should never send letter nor messenger to her sonne nor any of his friend or confederates, by the which the King might bee molested or troubled, or any hurt or prejudice might bee attempted against his realme and commonaltie. Which commandement was a while put in execution, and accomplished according to his dreadfull commandement. Yet the wild worme of vengeance wavering in his head, could not bee content with the death of divers gentlemen suspected of treason, but also he must extend his bloody fury against a poore gentleman called *Collingborne* for making a small Rime of three of his un-
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fortunat Councillers, which
were the Lord Lovell, fir Ri-
chard Radcliffe his mischievous
minion, and fir William Cates-
bey his secret seducer; which
meeter was;

The Rat, the Cat,
and Lovell our dog,

Rule all England

under the hog.

Meaning by the hog, the
dreadfull wild Bore which was
the Kings cognisaunce: but be-
cause the first line ended in dog,
the metrician could not, obser-
ving the regiments of meeter
end the second verse in Bore,
but called the Bore an hogge;
This poetick Schoole-master,
corrector of breves and longs,
caused Collingborne to be abbre-
viated shorter by the head, and
to be divided into foure quar-
ters.

King

King *Richard* being thus tormented and tossed in his owne conceipt and imagination, calling to his remembrance that considerations, amities and other honest bonds and pacts, made, concluded and appointed betweene Princes and politique governours are in the cause efficient, especiall introduction that their Realmes and Countries are fortified and munited with a double power, that is to say, with their owne strength and the ayde of their friends, devised with himselfe to practise a league and amitie with the King of *Scotts*, which not long before had made diverse incursions and rodes into the Realme of *England*, where although hee got little, yet surely he lost not much, and thereupon sued to have a truce or peace concluded, which came even as King *Richard* had wished

wished it. Wherefore commissioners were assigned for both parts to meete at *Notingham* the seventh day next ensuing, at which time came thither for the King of *England*, *John Bishop of Lincoln* Chancellor of *England*, *Richard Bishop of Saint Asse*, *John Duke of Norfolk*, *Henry Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Lord Stanley*, *George Stanley Lord Strange*, *John Gray Lord Powes*, *Richard Lord Fitzhugh*, *John Gunthorpe*, keeper of the Kings Privie Seale, *Thomas Barow* Matter of the Roules, *fir Thomas Bryan* chiefe Justice of the Common Place, *fir Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, *William Catesbey*, and *Richard Salkeld* Esquiers. And for the King of *Scots* were deputed *Colin Earle of Ergile* Lord *Campbell*, & Lord Chancellour of *Scotland*, *William Bishop of Aberdeen*, *Robert Lord*

Lord Lyle, Laurence Lord Ophant, John Drummond of Strathall, Archibald Quinelator Archdeacon of Lawdene and Secretarie to King James, Lyon K. of Armes, & Duncane Dundas. These Councillers diverse times met, and after long debating, demanding and denying, in the end of September they fully concluded, and made a determination, the effect whereof followeth in Articles.

I.

First, It was appointed and concluded that a perfect *Amitie* and an *Inviolable* peace should be had and kept betweene the Realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of three yeares; to beginne at the Sunne rising the twentieth ninth day of September in the yeere of our Lord One thousand foure hundred eighty foure, and to continne to the setting of the sunne

sunne the twenty ninth day of
September in the yeare of Christs
incarnation, one thousand foure
hundred eightie seven.

II.

Item, that during the said
yeares, none of both the Princes,
nor their ministers shall make war
or invade the Realme or dominion
of the other by sea or land, or
vexe, perturbe, or molest the sub-
jects or vassalles of either of them,
nor shall give counsell, excite or
move any other person to make
warre or invasion on the territo-
ries of any of the said Princes.

III.

Item, that the towne and Ca-
stle of Barwicke, with all such
boundes as were thereto belonging,
which were in the English mens
hands at the deliverance of the
same towne by King Henry the
sixt, to the King of Scotts, shall

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so peaceably remaine in the possession of the King of England during the said truce.

IIII.

Item, that all other Castles, holdes and fortresses, shall peaceably remaine in the hands of the possessor and owner without challenge or demand during the said truce, the Castle of Dumbar only excepted, (which was delivered into the English mens hands by the appointment of the Duke of Albany when he fled into France.

V.

Item, If the King of Scotts doe intimate and declare to the King of England, within the space of fortie daies next ensuing the date hereof, that hee will not suffer the said Castle of Dumbar to be possessed of the English nation above the terme of fixe moneths, that then during the said

fixe

six moneths, neither the English men in the Garison of Dumbar, nor the Scotts dwelling and inhabiting about the limits of the same, shall doe any hurt, prejudice or dammage to any of the said parties, the said terme continning.

VI.

Item, If after the said sixe moneths, any variance or warre shall arise betweene the said two Princes, either for the recovering or defending the said Castle of Dumbarre, yet the said truce, league and amitie for all other rights and possessions, shall stand in force and be effectuell, and that it shall bee lawfull to each of the said Princes to doe what they shall thinke necessary, both for the obtaining and defending the said Castle of Dumbarre, any thing contained in the treaty of peace notwithstanding.

VII.

Item, It is concluded and appointed between the parties aforesaid, that during the said truce, none of both the Princes aforesaid, shall receiue into his Realme, territories, or dominions, any traitour or rebell of the other Prince, nor shall maintaine, favour, aide or comfort any rebell or traytor which is already fled, or shall hereafter fly into either the said Princes dominions, nor there suffer him or them to tarry or make their abode.

VIII.

Item, If any such rebell or traytour shall fortune hereafter to arrive in the Realme or territorie of any of the said Princes, that then the said Prince, in whose dominion the said traytour or rebell is so arrived, at the instance and request of the other Prince to whom

whom the offence and crime was committed, shall bee bound incontinently to deliver the said rebell or traytour to the said demander without fraud or male engine.

IX.

Item, That all Scotchmen now inhabiting in England, and sworne to the King of England, shall and may there inhabite and tarry, so that their names within fortie daies after the date of this league bee certified to the King of Scotts, or to his Chancellour, by the King of England, or the war-den of the Marches.

X.

Item, If during the said amity and peace, it shall fortune any of the Wardeines of the said Princes without commandment, assent or knowledge of his soveraigne Lord and Master, to invade or raise an army in the dominion of the o-

other Prince, and there to slay, burne or spoyle : that then the said Prince, to whom the said Wardeine is or shall be subject and vassaille, shall within sixe daies next after the fact done and perpetrate, declare the said Wardeine a traytour and rebell, and thereof shall make certificate to the other Prince to whom the injury was committed within twelve daies after the said declaration made and denounced.

XI.

Item, That in every safe conduct to be granted by either of the said Princes, this clause to bee added : Provided alwaies that the obtainer of this safe conduct be no traytour or rebell.

XII.

Item, If during this amity and truce, any of the subjects of either Prince doe presume or attempt to
aide,

ay, aid ar- af- xt te, y- ull er is s e
aide, helpe, maintaine or serve any other Prince against any of the said contractors: Then it shall be lawfull to the Prince and his subjects against whom he shewed himselfe enemy and adversarie, to apprehend and attach the said subject, going, comming, or tarrying, any act, article or clause in this league to the contrary comprehended notwithstanding.

XIII.

Item, It is agreed, apointed, and accorded, that in this traatie and amitie shall bee comprehended the friends obliged and confederates of both the Princes if they list to enter and accept the league, and thereupon to declare their pleasures within fixe moneths next ensuing: and specially for the King of Englands part were named for confederates, The King of Castile and Lyon, the King of Arragon, the King of Portugall,

the Archduke of Austryche and Burgony, and the Duke of Britaine. On the part of the King of Scotts were named for confederates, Charles the French King, Iohn King of Denmarke and Norway, and the Duke of Geldres and Brittain.

XIIII.

Item, It is agreed and concluded betweene the parties aforesaid that the Lordship of Lorne in the Realme of Scotland, nor the Island of Lunday lying in the river of Severne in the Realme of England, shall not be taken nor comprised within the league, but to stand at large as they did before.

XV.

*Item, That this concord, peace, and amity, should be published, proclaymed and divulged the first day of October next ensuing in
the*

*the most noble and famous cities
and townes of both the Realmes
and Regions. And conserva-
tors were appointed for the sure
observation of this league and a-
mitie on both parts, whose names
follow.*

For the King of England.

*John Earle of Lincone.
Henry Earle of Northumberland
Ralph Lord Nevell
Ralph Lord Greystocke
Richard Lord Fitz. Hugh
John Lord Scrope
Thomas Lord Scrope of Massam
Sir Christopher Moresby
William Clapton, Esquier
Humfrey Lord Daker
Sir Richard Ratcliffe
Sir Iohn Conyers
Sir Edward Hastings
Sir Robert Donstable.
Sir Hugh Hastings
Sir William Evers*

Qs

Sir

The Tragickall Historie

Sir Iohn Huldeston
William Musgrave, Esquier
Richard Salkeld, Esquier

For the King of *Scotts.*

David Earle of Crafford, and
Lord Linsey.

George Earle of Huntley, Lord
Gorden and Badzenath.

Iohn Lord Dorneley

Iohn Lord Kynedy

Robert Lord Lile

Patrick Lord Hales

Lawrence Lord Oliphaunt

William Lord Borthwike

Sir Iohn Rosse of Halkhed

Sir Gilbert Iohnson of Elphyn-
stone

Sir Iohn Lundy

Sir Iames Ogilly of Arly

Sir Robert Hamilton of Fingal-
ton

Sir William Balze of Laming-
ton.

Sir Iohn Kinedy of Blarqhon.

Sir

Sir *John Wemes*

Sir *William Rochemen*

Edward Crochton of Kirke
Paty

John Dundas

John Rosse of Montgrenane,
these three last were Esquiers.

XVI.

Item, It is further condescended and agreed, that these commissioners whose names ensue, shall meete at Loughmabanstane the eighteenth day of November next ensuing, aswell for redresse to bee had of certaine offences done on the Westmarches, as also for declaring and publishing of the peace and amitie.

Commissioners of the
English part.

The Lord *Dacre*

The Lord *Fitz Hugh*

Sir *Richard Radcliffe*

Sir

of King Richard the third.

Sir Christopher Moresby
 Sir Richard Salkeld, or three of
 them.

Commissioners for the
Scottish part.

The Lord Kenedy
 The Lord Mountgomory
 The Lord Lile
 John Maxwell Stuarde of *An-*
nerdale.
 Robert Crschton of *Sanguhane,*
 or three of them.

XVII.

Item, *The like Commissioners*
were assigned to meete at Raydon
Borne for the East Marches the
first day of December, and also
meete at Haldanstanke the fourth
day of the said moneth for the
miale Marches.

Commissioners for the King
 of *England.*

The

The Earle of Northumberland.
The Lord Greytorcke
The Lord Scrope of *Massam*
Sir *William Gastoyne*
Sir *Robert Constable*.

Commissioners for the King
of *Scotts*.

The Earle of *Huntley*
The Earle of *Angus*
The Earle of *Ergile* Chancel-
lour of *Scotland*
The Lord *Wandale*
The Lord *Seton*
The Lord *Olyphaunt*
The Lord *Stobhill*.

XVIII.

Item, It is agreed that the
commesshioners aforesaid shall de-
pute and assigne certaine persons
to view and declare the bounds
and limits appertaining to the
Towne of *Berwicke* according to
the true meaning of the league.

XIX.

XIX.

Item, *It is agreed and appointed that no person of England or Scotland, shall, during the said truce, build, eare or sow any lands or ground being within the bounds of the batable ground, but to suffer the same to continue in the same condition that it now remaineth.*

When this league and amitie was thus concluded, finished and sealed, with all due circumstances thereunto required; although King *Richard* judged & deemed himselfe somewhat the more strong and quiet by force of this new amitie, and concluded confederacie; yet to augement more the familiaritie begunne betweene the King of *Scots* and him, and to have a double string for his bow, hee entreated a new aliance and marri-

marriage to bee concluded betweene the Prince of *Rothsay* eldest son to the King of *Scots*, and Lady *Anne de la Poole*, daughter to *John* Duke of *Susfolke*, and Lady *Anne* sister to King *Richard*, which sister he so much favored, that he studying all the waies by the which hee might advance her off-spring and linage, did not onely procure and seeke meanes how to make her daughter a Princeesse, and consequently a Queene, but also after the death of his son, he proclaimed *John* Earle of *Lincolne* his Nephew & her son, heire apparent to the Crowne of *England*, disinheriting King *Edwards* daughters, whose brethren before you have heard he shamefully killed and murdered.

The King of *Scots* having neede of Friends, but not so much neede as King *Richard* which

w^{ch} was of necessitie compelled
 to seeke aiders, and to entertaine
 fautours, the one for favouring
 of flatterers and base borne
 persons, and the other not on-
 ly for tyranny and unnaturall
 homicide, but also for the usur-
 pation of the Crowne being of
 all the Realme detested and dis-
 dained, gladly accepted and
 joyously consented to King *Rich-
 ards* device and conjunction
 of amitie, perfectly remem-
 bring that amongst all bonds
 and obligations of love and a-
 mitie, that there is neither a
 surer nor a more perfect locke,
 then the knot of conjunction
 in the Sacrament of Matrimo-
 nie, which was in the very begin-
 ning of the first age of man, or-
 dained and instituted in the ho-
 ly place of Paradice terrestiall
 by God himselfe: by reason
 whereof, the propagation and
 succession of the humane na-
 ture

ture, stablished upon the sure
seate of lawfull Matrimonie
betweene Princes, may nourish
peace, concord and unity, as-
swage & breake the furious rage
of truculent Mars and terrible
battaile, and encrease love, fa-
vour and familiaritie. Where-
fore the said Princes sent their
Embassadours and Councillors
again to the Towne of *Not-*
tingham, where the said mar-
riage was by writings and in-
struments covenanted, condisc-
cended and agreed, and affian-
ces made and taken by Proctors
and Deputies on both parts,
and shee immediately called
Princesse of *Rothsay*, which
name shee shortly lost by the
short life of King *Richard* her
loving Uncle. Here may well
bee noted the unnaturall love
and disordered affection which
this kinde kinsman shewed to
his blood: for he not remem-
bring

bring the tyranny that he had executed against his brothers sons, the wrong & manifest injury that he had done to his brothers daughters, both in taking from them their dignity, possessions and living, thought it should redound greatly to his honour and fame, if hee promoted his sisters child (to whom hee was nothing bound in conscience to make testification) to the dignity of a Queene, rather then to preferre his brothers daughter whom hee had untruly and by force disinherited, and of all their right deprived, to the marriage of a meane Esquire : such was his fraternall kindnesse towards his brother, and such was his large conscience towards his brothers children.

After this league and Marriage thus concluded and agreed, the King of Scots disdaining that the strong Castle of *Dumbarre*

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borne should remaine in the Englishmens hands and possession, wrote a gentle letter to K. Richard, declaring to him that where in the league concluded betwene them, it was agreed and appointed that hee should within forty daies next ensuing, expresse and declare his opinion and meaning concerning the Castle of *Dumbarre*, whether the said castle should be occupied & stand still in the hands of the Englishmen during the whole time of the truce, or else for the time of fixe moneths onely; He now certified King *Richard* by his letters, that he was content that he and his should enjoy the possession of the said Castle quietly and peaceably during the said truce and amity. Neverthelesse hee required him for the love and familiaritie that now both by treatie & aliance was sprung & knit

knit betweene them, that hee would redeliver the said Castle into his hands, which was untruely possessed of the English nation by deliverie of rebels and traytours, contrarie to all right, equitie, and conscience. King *Richard* dalled with pleasant letters & faire words, and so fooled forth the King of *Scots*, that hee never had *Dumbarre* delivered while King *Richard* lived, after whose death, whether it were by treason or by appointment, the Castle was rendred to the King of *Scots* to his great contentation & rejoycing. Albeit this league and amitie thus covenanted and concluded, it might manifestly seeme to all persons, that all conjurations and confederacies against King *Richard* were extinct and put to silence, and in especially considering tha the Duke of *Buckingham* and his alies

allies were made out of his way, some by death, and some by banishment and exiling into far Countries and Regions: Yet King *Richard* more doubting then trusting to his owne people and friends, was continually vexed, tossed and unquieted with feare of the returne of the Earle of *Richmond* and his complices and fauoures, which daily dread, and houely agony, caused him to live in dolefull misery, ever unquiet, and in manner in continual calamitie. Wherefore he intending to bee relieved, and to have all his dolorous imagination alleviated, determined cleerely to extirpate & plucke up all the matter and ground of his feare and doubts. Wherefore after long & deliberate consultation had, nothing was for his purpose and intent thought either more necessary or expedient, then
once

once againe with price, prayer, and rewards, to attempt the Duke of *Britaine*, in whose territorie the Earle of *Richmond* then abode, to deliver the said Earle into his hands, by which onely meanes he should bee discharged of all feare of perill, and brought to rest and quietnesse both of body and mind. Wherefore incontinent he sent certaine Embassadours to the Duke of *Britaine*, which tooke upon them (besides the great and ample rewards that they brought with them into *Britaine*) that King *Richard* should yeerely pay and answer the Duke of all the revenues, rents, and profits, of the signories, lands, and possessions, aswell belonging and appertaining to the Earle of *Richmond*, as to any other noble or gentleman which then were in the Earles company, if he after that time would

would keepe them in continuall prison and restraine them from liberty.

The Oratours furnished with these and other instructions, arrived in *Britaine*, and came to the Dukes house, where with him they could have no manner of communication concerning their weightie affaires, by reason that hee being fatigate and weakened by a long and daily infirmity, began a little to waxe idle and weake in his wit and remembrance. For which cause *Peter Landoyse* his chiefe Treasurer, a man both of pregnant wit and great authoritie, ruled and judged all things at his pleasure and commandement: for the which cause (as men set into high authoritie be not best beloved) he excited and provoked against him the malice and evill will of the nobilitie of *Britaine*, which afterwards

wards for diuers great offences by him during his authority perpetrate and committed, by their meanes was brought to death and confusion. The English Embassadours moved their message and request to *Peter Landoyse*, and to him declared their Masters commandement, instantly requiring, and humbly desiring him (in whose power it lay to doe all things in *Britaine*) that hee would friendly assent to the request of King *Richard*, offering to him the same rewardes of lands, that they should have offered to the Duke.

This *Peter* which was no lesse disdayned then hated almost of all the people of *Britaine*, thought that if he did assent and satisfie King *Richards* Petition and desire, hee should be of power and ability sufficient to withstand and refell the mali-

malicious attempts and inventions of his envious adversaries. Wherefore hee faithfully promised to accomplish King *Richards* request and desire, so that he kept promise with him, that he might bee able to withstand the cankered malice of his secret enemies. This act that hee promised to doe, was not for any grudge or malice that hee bare to the Earle of *Richmond*, for as you have heard before, he delivered him from perill of death at Saint *Malos* when he was in great doubt of life and jeopardie, but as cause riseth we ever offend, and that cursed hunger of gold and execrable thirst of lucre, and inward feare of losse of authoritie, driveth the blind mindes of covetous men and ambitious persons to evils and mischiefes innumerable, not remembring losse of name, obloquie of the people,

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nor

nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merits and deserts. But fortune was so favorable to the publique wealth of the Realme of *England*, that this deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while postes ranne, and letters were sent to and fro for the finishing of this great enterprise betweene King *Richard* and *Peter Landoyse*, *John Morton* Bishop of *Ely* sojourning then in *Flaunders*, was of all this craftie conveighance certified by his secret and sure friends : wherefore he sent *Christopher Ursmicke* (which at that verie season was come out of *Britaine* into *Flaunders*) to declare to the Earle of *Richmond*, how all the deceit and craftie working was conveighed and compassed, giving him in charge to counsell and advise the Earle in all haste possible with

with all his company to retire out of *Britaine* into *France*. When these newes were brought to the Earle, he then kept house in *Vannes*, and incontinent dispatched againe *Christopher Erskine* to *Charles* the French K. requiring him that hee and his might safely passe into *France*, which desire, impetrated and obteyned, the messenger shortly returned to his Lord and Prince. The Earle well perceiving that it was expedient and necessarie with all speede and diligence, to looke to this weightie matter, calling verie few to councell, he made exploration and search of all secret and by waies, and sent before all his noble men, as though for a certaine familiarity and kinnesse they should visit and comfort the Duke, which then for recreation and change of aire, lay on the borders and confines

of *France*. And secretly hee gave charge to the Earle of *Pembrooke*, which was the leader and conductor of his company, that when they approached the marches and limits of *Britaine*, they should divert and take the next way into *France*. The noble men somewhat suspicious of things newly imagined, without any tarrying or by the journey gasing, scouring the waies as fast as their horse would runne, or as they conveniently might beare & sustaine, came out of the Dutchy of *Britaine* into the Dutchy of *Angeon* in the dominion of *France*, where they expected the Earles comming, which two dayes after departed out of *Vannes*, onely accompanied with five servants, as though hee had gone to visite some familiar friend of his in a small village adjoyning. No man suspected that hee would

would depart, considering that a great multitude of Englishmen were left and continued in the citie, but after he had passed directly five miles forward, hee suddenly turned into a solitary wood next adjoyning, where cloathing himselfe in the simple coate of his poore servant, made and appointed his said minister, leader and master of his small cōpanie, & he as an humble page diligently followed and served his counterfeite governiour, never resting nor themselves refreshing, except the bayting of their horses, till they by waies unknowne, now this way, now turning that way, came to their company abiding them in *Angiers*.

The fourth day after the Earle of *Richmond* was thus departed, that craftie merchant *Perter Landoyse*, trusting still after his prey promised by King

Richard, was ready to set forward his crew of souldiers, which he privily had consigned with certaine trustie captaines for that onely purpose appointed and elected, to performe and atchieve his pretended enterprise, dissembling & feigning them to be conducted and hired by him to serve the Earle of *Richmond*, and him to conduct in his returne towards his native countrey, meaning none other thing but to apprehend him and the other noble men in his retinue, which no such fraud suspecting, nor yet any treason imagining, unawares and unprovided and destitute of all aide, and them to cast and detruide suddenly into continuall captivitie and bondage, to the intent that by this facinorous and naughty act, he might satisfie the charitable request and loving desires of good K.

Richard,

Richard, more for his owne profit then for King *Richards* gaine. But when this crafty dissembler *Peter Landoyse*, which was no wiliar then an old Foxe, perceived that the Earle was departed (thinking that to bee true that hee imagined) Lord how curriours ran into every coast, how light-horsemen galloped to every streete to follow and detainē him, if by any possibility hee could bee subsecuted and overtaken, and him to incarcerate and bring captive into the citie of *Vannes*. The horsemen made such diligence, and with such celeritie set forward their journey, that nothing was more likely then they to have obtained, yea and seized their prey. For the Earle of *Richmond* was not entred into the Realme of *France* scarce one houre, but the followers came to the li-

mits and confines of *Britaine*, and durst adventure no further, but vainely without their desire sorrowfully returned. At which season were left at *Vannes* about the number of three Englishmen, which not being called to counsell, and unawares of this enterprife, but knowing of the Earles sudden departure, were so incontinently astonied, that in a manner they were all in despaire both of him and their owne securitie and safeguard. But fortune turned her faile, and otherwise it happened then their feare them incombred. For the Duke of *Britaine* now being somewhat recovered, was sore displeased, and nothing contented that the Earle of *Richmond* was in his dominion so uncurteously treated and intreated, that hee should bee by fraud and untruth compelled to leave and fly out of

of his Dutchy and countrey contrary to his honour. Wherefore hee tooke great displeasure with *Peter Landoyse* his Treasurer, to whom (although hee knew not and was ignorant that all the drift was driven and devised by him) he laid the fault and imputed the crime. Wherefore he sent for *Edward Woodvile*, and *Edward Powninges* valiant Esquiers of *England*, and delivered unto them money sufficient for their conduct, willing them to convey the rest of the Englishmen being in *Britaine*, to the Earle of *Richmonds* presence.

When the Earle was thus furnished and appointed with his trusty company, and was escaped all the dangerous labyrinthes and snares that were set for him, no marvell though he were iocund and glad of the prosperous successe that hap-

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pened in his affaires. Wherefore lest hee should seeme to be blot-
 ted with the note of ingrati-
 tude, hee sent divers of his gen-
 tlemen to the Duke of *Britaine*,
 the which should publish and
 declare to him on the behalfe
 of the Earle, that hee and his
 were onely by his benefit and
 favour conserved and delivered
 from the imminent danger that
 they were like to be trapped in.
 Wherefore at that time he ren-
 dred to him most heartie thanks
 in words, trusting and not
 doubting, but in time to come
 liberally to recompence him
 with acts and deedes.

After this, the Earle tooke
 his journey to *Charles* the
French King, living then at
Langes, upon the river of *Leyre*,
 to whom after great thanks
 given for manifold gratuities
 by him to the Earle shewed, hee
 disclosed and manifested the
 cause

cause and occasion of his accessse
and repaire to his person. After
that hee required of him helpe
and succour, to the intent that
by his immortall benefit to him
at that time shewed, hee might
safely returne to the nobilitie
of his Realme, of whom he was
generally called to take upon
him the Crowne and Scepter of
the Realme, they so much hated
and abhorred the tyranny of
King Richard. *King Charles*
promised him aide and com-
fort, and bad him bee of good
courage and make good cheere,
for hee assured him that hee
would gladly shew to him his
benevolent minde and bounti-
full liberalitie. Which King
from thence removed to *Moun-*
targis, leading with him the
Earle of *Richmond*, and all the
noble personages of his retinue
and faction.

While the Earle was thus at-
tendant

tendant in the *French Court*,
John Vere Earle of Oxford
 (which as you have heard be-
 fore, was by King *Edward* kept
 in prison within the Castle of
Hamme) so perswaded *John*
Blunt capitaine of the same for-
 tresse, and sir *John Fortescume*
 porter of the towne of *Caleys*,
 that he himselfe was not onely
 dismissed and set at liberty, but
 they also abandoning and lea-
 ving their fruitfull offices, con-
 discended to goe with him into
France to the Earle of *Richmond*
 and to take his part. But *James*
Blunt like a wise capitaine, be-
 cause he left his wife remaining
 in the Castle before his depar-
 ture, hee fortified the same both
 with new inventions and new
 souldiours. When the Earle of
Richmond saw the Earle of *Ox-*
ford, hee was ravished with an
 incredible gladnesse, that hee
 being a man of so high nobili-
 tie,

tie, of such knowledge and practise in feates of warre, and so constant, trusty and assured (which alwaies had studied for the maintenance & preferment of the house of *Lancaster*) was now by Gods provision delivered out of captivitie and imprisonment, and in time so necessary and convenient come to his aide, succour, and advancement, in whom more sure then any other he might put his trust and confidence, and take lesse paine and travile in his owne person. For it was not hid from him, that such as had ever taken paines with King *Edward* before this time, came to doe him service either for malice that they bare to *K. Richard*, or else for feare to fall under his truculent rule and tempestuous government. But this man which so often times had personally fought in mortall battell

tell in the quarrell of King *Henry* the Sixt, hee judged by divine power and heavenly inspiration to be delivered out of captivitie and imprisonment for this onely purpose, that hee should have a man of his owne faction and schoole, to whom he might surely and faithfully communicate and credite all things as to his owne proper person, and therefore being inflamed with an immortall joy for the Earles comming, he beganne to have a good hope of the happie successe of all his pretended enterprises.

Not long after, the French King returned againe to *Paris*, whom the Earle of *Richmond* followed, intending there to sollicite his matter to the conclusion. Whereupon he besought King *Charles* to take upon him the whole tuition and defence of him and his cause, so that he
and

and his compauy being by his
meanes aided and comforted,
shoul d confesse and say, their
wealth, victory and advance-
ment to have flowed and bud-
ded forth of his bountifulnesse
& liberality, which they would
God willing shortly requite. In
the meane season diuers En-
glishmen, which either fled out
of *England* for feare, or were at
Paris to learne and studie good
literature and vertuous doctrine
came voluntarily and submit-
ted themselves to the Earle of
Richmond, and vowed and sware
to take his part. Amongst whom
was *Richard Foxe* a Priest, a
man of great wit, and no lesse
learning, whom the Earle in-
continent received into secret
familiaritie, and in brieft time
erected and advanced him to
high dignities and promotions,
and in conclusion he made him
Bishop of *Winchester*.

In

In the mean season King *Richard* was credibly advertised what promises and oathes the Earle and his confederates had made and sworne together at *Renes*, and how by the Earles meanes al the Englishmen were passed out of *Britaine* into *France*. Wherefore being sore dismaid, and in manner desperate, because his crafty mischief tooke no effect in *Britaine*, imagined and devised how to infringe and disturbe the Earles purpose by another meane, so that by the marriage of Lady *Elizabeth* his neece, hee should pretend no claime nor title to the Crowne. For hee thought if that marriage failed, the Earles chiefe combe had beene cleerely cut. And because that he being blinded with the ambitious desire of rule before this time, in obtaining the kingdome, had perpetrate and done many

many flagitious acts and detestable tyrannies, yet according to the old proverbe, let him take the bull that stole away the calfe, hee thought all facts by him committed in times past to be but of small moment and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischievous imagination which hee now newly beganne and attempted. There came into his ungratious minde a thing not only detestable to bee spoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more cruell and abominable to be put in execution. For when hee revolved in his wavering minde how great a fountaine of mischief toward him should spring, if the Earle of *Richmond* should be advanced to the marriage of his neece, which thing hee heard say by the rumour of her people, that no small number of wise and witty

tie personages enterprised to compasse and bring to conclusion.

He clearly determined to reconcile to his favour his Brother wife, Queen *Elizabeth*, either by faire words or liberall promises, firmly believing her favour once obtained, that shee would not stick to commit and lovingly credit to him the rule and governance both of her and her daughters, and so by that meanes the Earle of *Richmond* of the affinity of his Neece should be utterly defrauded and beguiled. And if no ingenuous remedy could be otherwise invented to save the innumerable mischiefes which were even at hand, and like to fall, if it should happen Queen *Anne* his wife to depart out of this present world, then hee himselfe would rather take to wife his cousin and neece, the
Lady

Lady *Elizabeth*, then for lacke of that affinity the whole Realme should runne to ruine, as who said, that if hee once fell from his estate and dignity, the ruine of the Realme must needs shortly ensue and follow. Wherefore he sent to the Queene, being in Sanctuary, divers and often Messengers, which first should excuse and purge him of all things before against her attempted or procured, and after should so largely promise promotions innumerable and benefits, not onely to her, but also to her sonne Lord *Thomas Marquesse Dorset*, that they should bring her if it were possible into some wan hope, or as men say, into a fooles paradise. The Messengers being men both of wit and gravitie, so perswaded the Queene with great and pregnant reasons, then with faire and large promises, that she

she began somewhat to relent, and to give to them no deafe eare, insomuch that she faithfully promised to submit and yeeld her self fully and frankly to the Kings will and pleasure. And so she putting in oblivion the murther of her innocent children, the infamy and dishonour spoken by the King her husband, the living in adultery layed to her charge, bastarding of her daughters, forgetting also the faithfull promise and open oath made to the Countesse of *Richmond* mother to the Earle *Henry*, blinded by avaritious affection, and seduced by flattering words, first delivered into King *Richards* hands her five daughters, as Lambes once againe committed to the custody of the ravenous Wolfe.

After shee sent Letters to the Marquesse her sonne, being then

then at *Paris* with the Earle of *Richmond*, willing him in any wise to leave the Earle, and without delay to repaire into *England*, where for him were provided great honours and honourable promotions, ascertaining him further, that all offences in both parties were forgotten and forgiven, and both he and she highly incorporate in the Kings heart. Surely the inconstancie of this woman were much to bee marvelled at, if all women had bin found constant, but let men speake, yet women of the very bond of Nature wil follow their owne kinde.

After that King *Richard* had thus with glorious promises and flattering words pleased and appeased the mutable mind of *Queene Elizabeth*, which knew nothing lesse then that he most intended, he caused all his
brothers

brothers daughters to be conveyed into his Palace with solemne receiving, as though with his new familiar and loving entertainment they should forget, and in their mindes obliterate the old committed injury and late perpetrate tyranny.

Now nothing was contrarie and opposite to his pernicious purpose, but that his Mansion was not void of his wife, which thing he in any wise adjudged necessary to be done. But there was one thing that so much feared and dragged him from committing this abominable murder, because, as you have heard before, hee began to counterfeit the image of a good and well disposed person, and therefore he was afraid lest the sudden and immature death of his wife once openly knowne, hee should lose the good and
credible

credible opinion which the people had of him without desert conceived and reported. But in conclusion, evill counsell prevailed in a wit lately minded to mischief, and turned from all goodnesse. So that his ungratious desire overcame his honest feare.

And first to enter into the gates of his imagined enterprise, hee abstayned both from the bed and company of his wife. After hee complained to divers Noble men of the Realm, of the unfortunate sterilitie and barrenesse of his wife, because she brought forth no fruit and generation of her body. And in speciall hee accompted to *Thomas Rotherham* Arch-bishop of *Yorke* (whom lately hee had delivered out of ward and captivity) these impediments of his Queene and divers others, thinking that

that hee would reveale and open to her all these things, trusting the sequell hereof to take his effect, that shee hearing this grudge of her husband, and taking therefore an inward thought, would not long live in this world. Of this the Bishop gathered (which well knew the completion and usage of the King) that the Queenes dayes were short, and that hee declared to certaine of his secret friends. And thus he procured a common rumour (but hee would not have the authour knowne) to bee published and spread abroad among the common people that the Queene was dead, to the intent that shee taking some conceit of this strang fame, should fall into some sudden sicknesse or grievous malady, and to prove if afterwards shee should fortune by that or any other waies to
lose

lose her life, whether the people would impute her death to the thought or sicknes, or therof would lay the blame to him. When the Queene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was sprung amongst the commonaltie, shee sore suspected and judged the world to be almost at an end with her, and in that sorrowfull agony, shee with lamentable countenance and sorrowfull cheere, repaired to the presence of the King her husband, demanding of him, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to die. The King answered her with faire words, and with dissembling blandiments and flattering leasings comforted her, bidding her to bee of good comfort, for to his knowledge shee should have no other cause. But howsoever it fortunied, either by inward thought and
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pensivenesse of heart, or by intoxication of poyson (which is affirmed to bee most likely) within a few dayes after, the Queene departed out of this transitorie life, & was with due solemnitie buried in the church of *S. Peter at Westminster*. This is the same *Anne*, one of the daughters of the Earle of *Warwicke*, which as you have heard before, at the request of *Lewes the French King*, was married to Prince *Edward*, son to King *Henry the Sixt*.

The King thus (according to his long desire) loosed out of the bonds of matrimony, beganne to cast a foolish phantasie to Lady *Elizabeth* his neece, making much suite to have her joyned with him in lawfull matrimony: But because all men, and the maiden her selfe most of all, detested and abhorred this unlawfull and in a manner

unnatu.

unnaturall copulation. hee determined to prolong and defer the matter till he were in a more quietnesse. For all that very season hee was oppressed with great, weightie, and urgent causes and busineses on every side, considering, that daily part of the nobilitie sailed into *France* to the Earle of *Richmond*: other privily favoured and aided certaine of the conjuration, so that of his short end, few or none were in doubt. And the common people for the most part were brought to such desperation, that many of them had rather be reputed and taken of him in the number of his enemies, then to abide the chance and hazard to have their goods taken as a spoyle of victorie by his enemies. Amongst the noble men whom hee most mistrusted, these were the principall, *Thomas Lord Stanley*, *Sir William*

Stanley his brother, Gilbert Talbot and six hundred other, of whose purposes although King Richard were ignorant yet he gave neither confidence nor credence to any one of them, and least of al to the Lord Stanley, because hee was joyned in matrimony with the Lady Margaret mother to the Earle of Richmond, as afterward apparently ye may perceiue. For when the said Lord Stanley would haue departed into his Countrey to visite his familie, and to recreate and refresh his spirits (as he openly said) but the truth was to the intent to be in a perfect readinesse to receive the Earle of Richmond at his first arrivall into England: the King in no wise would suffer him to depart, before he had left as an hostage in the Court, George Stanley Lord Strange his first begotten son & heire.

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While King Richard was thus troubled and yexed with imaginations of the tumultuous time that was like to come: Loe even suddenly hee heard newes that fire was sprung out of the smoake, and the warre, presently begun, and that the Castle of Hammes was delivered into the hands of the Earle of Richmond by the meanes of the Earle of Oxford, and that not onely hee, but also James Blunt Capitaine of the Castle, were fled into France to aide the Earle Henry. Wherefore he thinking it great policie to withstand the first brunt, sent the most part of the garison of Calice, to recover again by force the castle of Hammes. They which were in the Castle perceiving their adversaries to approach, prepared munitions and engins for their defence, and sent also the Earle of Richmond, to advertise him of

their sodaine obsession, requiring him of hasty ayde & speedie succour. The Earle slipping not this first begun assault, sent the Earle of *Oxford* with an elected company of Souldiers to raise the siege and rescue the Castle: Which at their first arriving pitched their campe not farre from their enemies. And while King *Richards* men gave vigilant eye, weighing lest the Earle of *Oxford* should take any advantage of them that laie on that side of the Castle, *Thomas Brandon* with thirty approved men of warre by a marsh which lay on the other side entred into the Castle. The souldiers within greatly animated and much comforted by this new succour and aide, grieved the enemies by shooting from the walles more then they were accustomed to doe. And they of the Castle vexed their ene-

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enemies on the forepart: the Earle of *Oxford* no lesse molested and unquieted them on the other part, which was the occasion that King *Richards* men offered of their owne meere motion license to all being within the Castle to depart in safetie with bagge and baggage nothing excepted: which condition the Earle of *Oxford*, commanding onely for that purpose to deliver his loving friends out of all perill & danger, and chieflly of all, his old hostesse *Jane Blunt* wife to *James Blunt* the Captaine, would in no wise repudiate or refuse. And so leaving the Castle bare and ungarnished both of vitaille and artillery, came safe to the Earle of *Richmond* sojourning in *Paris*. During this time, King *Richard* was credibly informed of his explorators and espials, that the Earle of *Richmond* was with

long suite in the Court of
France forefatigate and wearied,
 and desiring great aide,
 could obtaine small reliefe. In
 so much that all things went so
 farre backward, that such
 things as were with great dili-
 gence and no lesse deliberation
 purposed and determined to be
 set forward, were now dashed
 and overthrowen to the ground.
 King *Richard* either being in
 light of credence, or seduced
 and deluded by his craftie tale-
 tellers, greatly rejoyced as
 though he had obtained the co-
 verhand of his enemies with tri-
 umph and victorie, and thought
 himselfe never so surely delive-
 red of all feare and dreadfull
 imaginations so that he needed
 now no more once for that
 cause either to wake or breake
 his golden sleepe. Wherefore
 he called home againe his ships
 of warre which he had appoin-
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ted to keepe the narrow seas
and dispatched all such souldi-
ers as hee had deputed to keepe
certaine garisons, and to stoppe
certaine passages, as you have
heard before. Yet lest he might
for lacke of provision bee sud-
denly trapped, hee straightly
charged and gave in comman-
dement to all noble men, and in
especial such as inhabited neere
to the Sea coast, and on the
frontiers of *Wales*, that accord-
ing to the usage of the coun-
trei, they should keepe diligent
watch and strong ward, to the
intent that his adversaries in no
wise should have any place apt
or oportune easily to take land
without defence or rebutting
backe. For the custome of the
Countreyes adioyning neere to
the Sea is (especially in the time
of warre) on every hill or high
place to erect a Beacon with a
great lanthorne in the toppet

eminence

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which may be seene and discerned a great space off. And when the noyse is once bruted that the enemy approacheth neere the land, they suddenly put fire in the lanthornes, and make shoutes & outrages from towne to towne, and from village to village. Some runne in post from place to place, admonishing the people to bee ready to resist the jeopardy, and defend the peril. And by this policie the fame is soone blowne to every citie and towne, insomuch that as well the citizens as the rurall people be in short space assembled and armed to resell and put backe the new arrived enemies.

Now to returne to our purpose: King *Richard* thus alleviate of his accustomed pensivenesse, began to bee somewhat more merrier, and tooke lesse thoughts and care for outward enemies

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enemies then hee was wont to doe, as who say, that hee with politique provisiō should withstand the destinie which hung over his head, and was ordeined in bricfe time suddenly to fall. Such is the force and puissance of divine justice, that every man shall lesse regard, lesse provide, lesse bee in doubte of all things, when hee is most neereſt punishment, and next to his mischance for his offences and crimes.

About this season, while the Earle of *Richmond* was desiring aide of the *French King*, certaine noble men were there appointed to rule the Realme of *France* during the minoritie of King *Charles*, which amongst themselves were not of one opinion. Of which dissention, *Lemes Duke of Orleanes* was the chiefe stirrer, which because he had married Lady *Iohanne* sister to the *French King*, tooke upon

upon him above other the rule
and administratiō of the whole
Realme. By reason of which
contrōversie, no one man
onely was suffered to rule all,
wherefore the Earle of *Rich-
mond* was compelled to make
suite to every one of the Coun-
cell severally one after another,
requiring and desiring them of
aide and reliefe in his weighty
businesse, and so his cause was
prolonged and deferred. Du-
ring which time, *Thomas Mar-
ques Dorset*, which was as you
have heard entised by his mo-
ther to returne againe into
England, partly despairing in
the good successe of the Earle of
Richmond, and partly onerate
and vanquished with the faire
glosing promises of King *Rich-
ard*, secretly in the night sea-
son stole out of *Paris*, and with
all diligent expediton tooke
his journey towards *Flanders*.

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When relation of his departure was made to the Earle of *Richmond* and the other Noble men, no marvell though they were astoried and greatly amazed. Yet that notwithstanding they required of the *French King* that it might bee lawfull for them in his name and by his commandement to take and slay their companion, confederate, and partaker of all their counsell, in what place within his Realme & territorie where-soever they could finde him. Which petition once obtained, they sent out carriers into every part, amongst whom *Humphrey Cheiny* playing the part of a good bloudhound, followed the tract of the *flyer* so dyen by the scent, that hee overtooke and apprehended him not farre from *Comprigne*, and so what with reason, and what with faile promises being perswaded,

swaded, hee returned againe to his companions. The Earle of *Richmond* unburdened of this misadventure; left by procrastination of dayes, and prolonging of time, hee might lose the great opportunity of things to him offered and ministred: also lest hee should further wound or molest the mindes of his faithfull and assured friends which daily did expect and tarry for his comming, determined no longer to protract and deferre the time, but with all diligence and celerity to attempt his begunn enterprise, & so obtaining of King *Charles* a small crew of men, and borrowing certaine summes of money of him and of divers other his private friends; For the which he left as debtor, or more likelye as a pledge or hostage, Lord *Thomas Marques Dorset*, (whom hee halfe mistrusted) and

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Sir *Iohn Burchier*, hee departed from the French Court, and came to the Cittie of *Roan*. While hee tarried there making provision at *Bartfleet* in the mouth of the River of *Seyne* for all things necessary for his navy and navigation, tidings were brought to him, that King *Richard* being without children and now widdower, intended shortly to marry with Lady *Elizabeth* his brothers daughter, and to preferre the Lady *Cicile* her sister to a man found in a cloude and of an unknowne lineage and family. He tooke this newes as a matter of no small moment (and so al things considered, it was of no lesse importance then he tooke it for.) For this thing onely tooke away from all his companions their hope and courage that they had to obtaine an happie enterprise. And therefore no
marvell

marvell though it nipped him at the very heart, when hee thought that by no possibility hee might attaine the marriage of any of King *Edwards* daughters, which was the strongest foundation of his building, by reason whereof hee judged that al his friends in *England* would abandon and shrink from him. Wherefore making not many of his counsell, after diverse consultations hee determined not yet to set forward, but to tarry and attempt how to get more aide, more friends, and more stronger succours. And amongst all other, it was thought most expedient to allure by affinity in his aide as a companion in armes Sir *Walrer Harbert*, a man of ancient stock and great power amongst the welshmen, which had with him a faire Lady to his sister, of age mature and ripe to bee coupled

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in matrimonie. And for the a-
 chiving of this purpose, messen-
 gers were secretly sent to Henry
 Earle of Northumberland (w^{ch}
 had before married another si-
 ster of Sir Walter Herberts). to
 the intent that hee should set
 forward all this device and pur-
 pose: but the waies were so nar-
 rowly watched, and so many
 spies laid, that the messenger
 proceeded not in his journey
 and businesse. But in the meane
 season, there came to the Earle
 a more joyfull message from
 Morgan Kidwelly, learned in
 the temporall Law, which de-
 clared that Ryce ap Thomas, a
 man of no lesse valiantnesse
 then activitie, and Iohn Savage
 an approved Captaine, would
 with all their power bee parta-
 kers of his quarrell: And that
 Reighnold Bray had collected
 and gotten together no small
 some of money for the pay-
 ment

ment of the wages to the soldiers and men of warre: admonishing him also to make quick expedition, and to take his course directly into *Wales*. The Earle of *Richmond* because hee would no longer linger and weary his friends living continually betweene hope and feare, determined in all convenient hast to set forward, and carried to his shippes armour, weapons, victualls, and all other ordinances expedient for warre. And shortly to speake, all things hee prepared which were wont to bee necessary and profitable to the variable chances and incertaine accidents and jeopardies of warre, which requireth preparation of many instruments and things chargeable.

And that the Earle had made his humble petition and devout prayer to almighty God, beseeching him not onely to
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send him most prosperous winde and sure passage in his journey, but also effectuously desiring his goodnesse of aide and comfort in his necessitie, and victorie and supermitie over his enemies, onely accompanied with two thousand men, and a small number of shippes, weighed up his anchors, and hoyed up his sailes, and in the calends of *August* he sailed from *Harflees* with so prosperous a winde, that the seventh day after his departure he arrived in *Wales* in the evening at a port called *Milford Haven*, and incontinent tooke land, and came to a place called *Dalle*, where he heard say that a certaine company of his adversaries were layed in garrison to defend his arrivall all the last winter. And the Earle at the sun rising removed to *Harford West*, being distant from *Dalle*
not

not fully tenne miles, where he was applauded and received of the people with great joy, and hee arrived there so suddenly, that hee was come and entred the towne at the same time when the Citizens had but knowledge of his comming. Here he heard newes which was as untrue, as they truly were reported to him in *Normandy*, that *Rice ap Thomas*, and *John Savage* with body and goods were determined to aide King *Richard*. While he and his company were somewhat appalled of these new tidings, there came such message from the inhabitants of the towne of *Pembrook*, that refreshed and revived their frozen hearts and daunted courages. For *Arnould Butler* a valliant Captaine; which first asking pardon for his offences before time committed against the Earle of *Richmond*; and that obtained

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obtained, declared that the *Pembrochians* were ready to serve and give their attendance on their naturall and immediate Lord *Iasper Earle of Pembroke*. The Earle of *Richmond* having his armie thus increased, departed from *Herford Wist* to the towne of *Cardigan*, being five mile distant from thence. While the souldiers were refreshing and trimming themselves in their campe, strange tidings sprung among them without any certaine authour, that Sir *Walter Harberd*, which lay with a great crew of men at *Carmarthen*, was now with a great army ready to approach and bid him battaile. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and every man assaid his armour and proved his weapon and were prest to defend their enemies. And as they were in this timorous doubt, certaine horse-

horsemen which the Earle had
 sent to make exploration and
 search, returned and reported
 all the countrey to be quiet, and
 no let nor impediment to bee
 laid or cast in their journey.
 And even at that same time the
 whole army was greatly re-
 comforted, by reason that the
 comming of *Richard Griffeth*,
 a man of great nobility, the
 which notwithstanding that he
 was conversant with *Sir Walter*
Harbert & Richard ap Thomas,
 yet at that very instant he came
 to the Earle of *Richmond* with
 all his company, which were of
 no great number. After him,
 the same day came *John Mor-*
gan with his men. Then the
 Earle advanced forward in
 good hast, making no repose or
 abode in any one place. And to
 the intent to passe forward with
 sure and short expedition, hee
 assaulted every place where his
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enemies had set any men of warre, which with small force and lesse difficultie hee briefly did expugne and vanquish. And suddenly hee was by his espials ascertained that Sir *Walter Harbert* and *Rice ap Thomas* were in harnesse before him ready to encounter with his army and to stoppe their passage. Wherefore like a valiant captain he first determined to set on them, and either to destroy or to take them into his favour, and after with all his power and puissance to give battaile to his mortall enemie King *Richard*. But to the intent his friends should know with what dexteritie his attempted enterprise proceeded forward, he sent of his most secret and faithfull servants with letters and instructions to the Lady *Margaret* his mother, to the Lord *Stanley* and his brother, to *Talbot* and to

to other his trusty friends, declaring to them, that hee succoured and holpen with the ayde and reliefe of his friends intended to passe over the river of *Siverne* at *Shrewesbury*, & so to passe directly to the citie of *London*, requiring them, as his especiall trust and confidence was perplanted in the hope of their fidelitie, that they would occurre and meete him by the way with all diligent preparation, to the intent that hee and they at time propice and place convenient might communicate together the profunditie and deepenesse of all his dubious & weighty businesse. When the messengers were disparted with these commandements, & admonitions, hee marched forwards toward *Shrewesbury*, and in his passing, there met and saluted him *Rise ap Thomas* with a goodly band of *Welshmen*, which

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which making an oath & promise to the Earle, submitted himself wholly to his order and commandement. For the Earle of *Richmond* two dayes before made to him promises that if hee would sweare to take his part and be obedient to him, he would make him chiefe governor of *Wales*; which part as he faithfully promised and granted, so after that hee had obtained and possessed the Realme and diadem, hee liberally performed and accomplished the same. In the meane time, the messengers that were sent, diligently executed the things given to them in charge, and laden with rewards of them to whom they were sent, returned to him the same day that he entered into *Shrewesbury*, & made relation to him that his friends were ready in all points to doe all things for him which either

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they ought or might doe. The Earle *Henry* brought in good hope with his pleasant message, continued foorth his entended journey and came to a little towne called *Newport* &, pitching his campe on a little hill adjoining, reposed himselfe there that night. In the evening, the same day came to him Sir *George Talbot* with the whole power of the young Earle of *Shrewesbury* then being in ward, which were accompted to the number of two thousand men. And thus his power increasing he arrived at the towne of *Stafford*, and there pawfed. To whom came Sir *William Stanley* accompanied with a few persons, and after that the Earle and hee had communed no long time together, he reverted to his souldiers which hee had congregate together to serve the Earle, which from
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thence departed to *Lichfield*, & lay without the walles in his campe all the night. The next morning hee entred into the towne, and was with all honour like a Prince received. A day or two before the Lord *Stanley* having in his band almost five thousand men, lodged in the the same towne, but hearing that the Earle of *Richmond* was marched thitherward, gave to him place, dislodging him and his, and repayred to a towne called *Adrestone*, there abiding the comming of the Earle; and this wilie Foxe did this act to avoide all suspicion, being afraid lest if hee should bee seene openly to be a fautour or ayder to the Earle his son in law before the day of the battell, that King *Richard* which did not utterly put in him diffidence and mistrust, would put to some cruell death his sonne and heire

apparent, *George Lord Strange*, whom King *Richard*, as you have heard before, kept with him as a pledge or hostage to the intent that the Lord *Stanley* his father should attempt nothing prejudiciall to him.

King *Richard* at this season keeping his house in the Castle of *Nottingham*, was informed that the Earle of *Richmond* with such banished men as fled out of *England* to him were now arrived in *Wales*, and that all things necessary to his enterprise were unprovided, unpurveyed and very weake, nothing meete to withstand the power of such as the King had appointed to resist him. This rumour so inflated his minde, that in manner disdainig to heare speake of so poore a company, determined at the first to take little or no regard to this so small a sparcke, declaring the
Earle

Earle to bee innocent and un-
wise because that hee temerari-
ously attempted such a great en-
terprise with so small & thinne
a number of warlike persons,
and therefore hee gave a definiti-
ve sentence, that when hee
came to that point that hee
should be compelled to fight a-
gainst his will, he either should
be apprehended alive, or else
by all likelihood hee should of
necessitie come to a shamefull
confusion, and that he trusted
to be shortly done by Sir *Wal-
ter Herbert* and *Rice ap Thomas*,
which then ruled *Wales* with
equall power and like authori-
tie. But hee revolving and ca-
sting in his minde that a small
warre begun and winked at,
and not regarded, may turne to
a great broyle and tumultuous
trouble, and that it was pru-
dent policie not to asperne and
disdaine the little small power

and weakenesse of the enemye,
 be it never so small, thought it
 necessary to provide for after
 clappes that might happen and
 chance. Wherefore hee sent to
John Duke of Norfolke, Henry
Earle of Northumberland, Tho-
mas Earle of Surrey, and to o-
 ther of his especiall and trusty
 friends of the nobility, which
 he judged much more to pre-
 ferre and esteeme his wealth and
 honour then their owne riches
 and private commoditie, wil-
 ling them to muster and view
 all their servants and tenants,
 and to elect and chuse the most
 courageous and active persons
 of the whole number, and with
 them to repaire to his presence
 with all speede and diligence.
 Also he wrote to *Robert Bra-*
kenbury Lieutenant of the Tow-
 er, commanding him with his
 power to come to his army, and
 to bring with him as fellows in

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armes Sir *Thomas Burchier*, and
sir *Walter Hungerford*, and di-
vers other Knights and Esqui-
ers in whom he had cast no smal
suspition.

While hee was thus ordering
his affaires, tidings came that
the Earle of *Richmond* was pas-
sed *Severne* & come to *Shrewes-
bury* without any detriment or
encombrance. At which mes-
sage hee was sore moved and
broyled with Melancolie and
doulour, and cryed out, asking
vengeance of them that contra-
ry to their oathes and promises
had fraudulently deceived him.
For which cause he beganne to
have diffidence in others, in so
much that hee determined him-
selfe out of hand the same day
to occurre and resist his adver-
saries; And in all haste sent out
explorators to view and espie
what way his enemies kept and
passed. They diligently doing

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their dutie, shortly after returned, declaring to the King that the Earle was encamped at the Towne of *Lichfield*. When he had perfect knowledge where the Earle with his army was sojourning, he having continually repaire of his subjects to him, began incontinently without delay to marshall and collocate in order his battailes (like a valiant captaine and politique leader) and first hee made his battailes to set forward foure & foure in a rancke, marching toward that way whither his enemies, as was to him reported, intended to passe. In the middle part of the army he appointed the trafficke and carriage appertaining to the armie. Then hee (envioured with his satellites and yeomen of the Crowne) with a frowning countenance and truculent aspect mounted on a great white

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white courser, followed with his footmen, the winges of horsemen coasting and ranging on every side: And keeping this array, he with great pompe entered the towne of *Leiceste* after the sunne set. The Earle of *Richmond* raised his campe and departed from *Lichfield* to the towne of *Tomworth* thereto neere adjoyning, and in the mid way passing, there saluted him Sir *Walter Hungerford*, and sir *Thomas Burchier* Kinghts, and divers other, which yeelded and submitted themselves to his pleasure. For they being advertised that King *Richard* had them in suspition and jelousie, a little beyond *Stony stratford* left & forsooke privily their Captaine *Robert Brakenbury*, and by nocturnall wandering, and in manner by unknowne pathes and uncertaine waies searching, at the last came to the Earle

Henry. Diverse other noble personages which inwardly hated King *Richard* worse then a toade or a serpent, likewise to him resorted with their power and strength. There happened in this progression to the Earle of *Richmond* a strange chance worthy to be noted: for albeit he was a man of hautie and valiant courage, and that his army encreased, and daily more and more he waxed puissant and stronger, yet hee was not a little afraid because he in no wise could bee assured of his father in law *Thomas Lord Stanley*, which for feare of the destruction of the Lord *Strange* his sonne (as you have heard) as yet enclined to neither partie. For if hee had gone to the Earle, and that notified to King *Richard*, his sonne had shortly beene executed. Wherefore sith the Earles feare sprang not of nothing,

nothing, he accompanied with twenty light horsemen lingered in his journey as a man disconsolate, musing and imagining what was best to be done. And the more to aggravate his melancholy pensiveness, it was shewed him that King *Richard* was at hand with a strong power and a populous army. While he thus pensive dragged behind his host, the whole army came before the town of *Tomwoorth*, & when he for the deepe darkness could not perceive the steppes of them that passed on before, and had wandered hither and thither, seeking after his company, and yet not once hearing any noyse or whispering of them, hee diverted to a little village being about three miles from his army, taking great thought, and much fearing lest hee should be espied and so trapped by K. *Richards* scout-watch.

watch. There hee tarried all night, not once adventuring to aske or demand a question of any creature, he being no more amased with the jeopardy and perill that was passed, then with this present chaunce, sore feared it should bee a prognostication or prodigiall signe of some unfortunate plague afterward to succede. As he was not merry being absent from his company, likewise his army much marvelled and no lesse mourned for his sodaine and in tempestuous absence.

The next morning early in the dawning of the day hee returned, and by the conduct of good fortune espied and came to his army, excusing himselfe, not to have gone out of his way by ignorance, but for a policie devised for the nonce he went from his campe to receive some glad message from
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certaine of his privie friends & secret allies. This excuse made, hee privilie departed againe from his hoast to the towne of *Aderstone*, where the Lord *Stanley* and sir *William* his brother with their bands were abiding. There the Earle came first to his fatherinlaw in a little close, where hee saluted him and sir *William* his brother, and after diverse congratulations & many friendly embracings, each rejoyced of the state of the other, and suddenly were surprised with great joy, comfort, and hope of great fortunate successe in all their affaires and doings. Afterward they consulted together how to give battaile to K. *Richard* if hee would abide, whom they knew not to be far off with an huge army. In the evening of the same day, sir *John Savage*, sir *Brian Sanford*, sir *Simon Digby*, and many other, leaving

leaving King *Richard*, turned & came to the part of the Earle of *Richmond* with an elect company of men. Which refusall of King *Richards* part by men of such experience, did augment and increase both the good hope and the puissance of the Earle of *Richmond*.

In the meane season King *Richard* (which was appointed now to finish his last labour by the very divine justice and providence of God, which called him to condigne punishment for his scelerate merits and mischievous deserts) marched to a place meete for two battailes to encounter by a village called *Bosworth*, not farre from *Leicester*, and there hee pitched his field, refreshed his souldiers, and tooke his rest.

The same went that hee had that same night a dreadfull and terrible dreame, for it seemed to him

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him being asleepe, that hee saw
divers images like terrible de-
vills, which pulled and haled
him, not suffering him to take
any quiet or rest. The which
strange vision not so suddenly
strake his heart with a sudden
feare, but it stuffed his head and
troubled his minde with many
dreadfull and busie Imaginati-
ons.

For incontinent after, his
heart being almost damped,
hee prognosticated before the
doubtfull chance of the battaile
to come, not using the alacritie
and mirth of minde and of
countenance as he was accusto-
med to doe before hee came to-
wards the battell. And lest
that it might bee suspected that
hee was abashed for feare of his
enemies, and for that cause hee
looked so pittifully, hee recited
and declared to his familiar
friends in the morning his
wonder-

wonderfull vision and terrible dreame. But I thinke this was no dreame, but a punction and pricke of his sinfull conscience; for the conscience is so much more charged and aggravate, as the offence is greater and more haynous in degree: which prick of conscience although it strike not alwaies, yet at the last day of extreame life it is wonte to shew and represent to us our faults and offences, and the paines and punishments which hang over our heads for the same, to the intent that at the instant we for our deserts being penitent and repentant may bee compelled to lament and bewaile our sinnes like forsakers of this world, jocund to depart out of this miserable life.

Now to returne againe to our purpose, the next day after, K. *Richard* being furnished with men and all abiliments of war, bringing

bringing all his men out of their campe into the plaine, ordered his foreward in a marvelous length, in which hee appointed both horsemen and footmen, to the intent to imprint in the hearts of them that looked a farre off, a sodaine terrour and deadly feare, for the great multitude of the armed souldiers: and in the fore front hee placed the archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwarke: over this battaile was captaine *Iohn Duke of Norfolk*, with whom was *Thomas Earle of Surrey* his sonne. After this long vangard followed King *Richard* himselfe, with a strong company of chosen and approved men of warre, having horsemen for winges on both the sides of his battell.

After that the Earle of *Richmond* was departed from the communicatiō of his friends as
you

you have heard before, hee began to be of a better stomacke, and of a more valiant courage, and with all diligence pitched his field just by the Campe of his enemies, and there he lodged that night. In the morning betime hee caused his men to put on their armour, apparel themselves ready to fight and give battell, and sent to the Lord *Stanley* (which was now come with his Band in a place indifferently betweene both the Armies) requiring him with his men to approach neer to his Army, and to helpe to set the Souldiers in array, hee answered, that the Earle should set his owne men in a good order of battell, while hee would array his company, and come to him in time convenient: Which answer made otherwise then the Earle thought or would have judged, considering

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ring the opportunity of the time, and the weight of the businesse, and although hee was therewithall a little vexed, began somewhat to hang the head, yet hee without any time delaying, compelled by necessity, after this manner instructed and ordered his men. He made his fore-ward somewhat single and slender, according to the small number of his people. In the front hee placed the Archers, of whom he made Captaine, *John Earle of Oxford*: to the right wing of the battell, hee appointed *Sir Gilbert Talbot* to be the leader: to the left wing hee assigned *Sir John Savage*, and hee with the aide of the Lord *Stanley*, accompanied with the Earle of *Pembroke*, having a good company of horse-men, and a small number of footmen: For all his whole number exceeded not five thou-

thousand men beside the power of the *Stanleys*, whereof three thousand were in the field under the Standard of Sir *William Stanley* : The Kings number was double as much, and more.

When both the Armies were thus ordered, and all men ready to set forward, King *Richard* called his Chieftains together, and to them said : Most faithfull and assured fellowes, most trusty and welbeloved friends and elected Captaines, by whose wisdom and policie, I have obtained the Crowne and Type of this famous Realme and noble Region, by whose puissance and valiantnesse I have enjoyed and possessed the state Royall and dignity of the same, maugre the ill will and seditious attempts of all my cankerd enemies and insidious adversaries, by whose prudent and politick

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litick counsell I have so governed my Realme, people and subjects, that I have omitted nothing appertaining to the office of a just Prince, nor you have pretermitted nothing belonging to the duty of wise and sage Counsellors: So that I may say and truly affirme, that your approved fidelity and tryed constancie, maketh mee to beleve firmly and thinke, that I am an undoubted King, and an indubitate Prince. And although in the adeption and obtaining of the Garland, I being seduced and provoked by sinister counsell and diabolicall temptation, did commit a facinorous and detestable act; yet I have with strict penance and salt teares (as I trust) expiated and cleerely purged the same offence; which abominable crime I require you of friendship as cleerly to forget, as I
daily

daily doe remember to deplore and lament the same. If you will now diligently call to remembrance in what case and perplexity wee now stand, and in what doubtfull perill wee be now intricked, I doubt not but you in heart will thinke, and with mouth confesse, that if ever amity and faith prevailed betweene Prince and subjects, or between subject and subject; or if ever bond of allegiance obliged the vassaile to love and serve his naturall Sovereigne Lord, or if any obligation of duty bound any Prince to aide and defend his subjects : All these loves, bonds and duties of necessity, are this day to be experimented, shewed and put in experience : For if wise men say true, there is some policie in getting, but much more in keeping; the one being but fortunes chance, and the other
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cause, I with you, and you with
mee, must needs this day take
labour and paine, to keepe and
defend with force, that pre-
eminence and possession, which
by your prudent devises I have
gotten and obtained. I doubt
not but you know, how the
Devill continuall enemy to hu-
mane nature, disturber of con-
cord, and sower of sedition,
hath entred into the heart of
an unknown Welshman (whose
father I never knew, nor him
personally saw) exciting him
to aspire and covet our Realme,
Crown and Dignity, and there-
of cleerely to deprive and spoile
us and our posterity; yee see
further, how a company of
traitors, thieves, out-lawes
and runagates of our owne Na-
tion be aiders and partakers of
his feat and enterprise, ready at
hand to overcome and oppresse

us;

us; you see also, what a number of beggerly *Britaines* and faint-hearted French men bee with him arrived, to destroy us, our wives and children: which imminent mischiefes and apparent inconveniencies, if we will withstand, wee must live together like brethren, fight together like Lions, and feare not to dye together like men. And observing and keeping this rule and precept, beleeve mee, the fearefull Hare never fled faster before the greedy Greyhound, nor the silly Larke before the Sparrow-hawke, nor the simple Sheepe before the ravenous Wolfe, then your proud bragging adversaries astonied and amazed with the onely sight of your manly visages, will flye, run, and skir out of the Field: For if you consider, and wisely ponder all things in your mind, you shall perceive that wee have
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manifest causes, and apparent tokens of Victory. And to begin with the Earle of *Richmond*, Captaine of this rebellion, hee is a Welsh milk-sop, a man of small courage, and of lesse experience in Martiall acts and feates of warre, brought up by my brothers meanes and mine, like a captive in a close Cage in the Court of *Francis* Duke of *Britaine*, and never saw Armie, nor was exercised in Martiall affaires, by reason wherof hee neither can nor is able on his owne wit and experience to guide an Hoast. For in the wit and policie of the Captaine, consisteth the chiefe adeption of the victory, and overture of the enemies. Secondly, feare not and put away all doubts, for when the Traytors and Runagates of our Realme, shall see us with Banner displayed, come against them, remembering
V their

their oath, promise, and fidelity made unto us, as to their Sovereaigne Lord and anointed King, they shall bee so pricked and stimulate in the bottome of their scrupulous consciences, that they for very remorse and dread of the divine plague, will either shamefully flye, or humbly submit themselves to our grace and mercy. And as for the Frenchmen and Britaines, their valiantnesse is such, that our Noble Progenitors and your Noble Parents, have them oftner vanquished and overcome in one month, then they in the beginning imagined possible to compasse and finish in a whole yeere. What will you make of them, braggers without audacity, Drunkards without discretion, rybauds without reason, cowards without resisting, and in conclusion the most effeminate and lascivious people,

people; that ever shewed themselves in front of Battaille, ten times more couragious to flye and escape, then once to assault the brest of our strong and populous Armie ? Wherefore, considering all these advantages, expell out of your thoughts all doubts, and avoid out of your mindes all feare, and like valiant Champions advance forth your Standards, and assay whether your enemies can decide, and try the title of Battaille by dint of Sword : Advance (I say) againe forward my Captaines, in whom lacketh neither policie, wisdom nor puissance. Every one give but one sure stripe, and surely the journey is ours. What prevaileth a handfull to a whole Realme ? desiring you for the love that you beare to mee, and the affection that you have to your native and naturall country,

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trety, and to the safeguard of your Prince and your selfe, that you will this day take to you your accustomed courage, and couragious spirits, for the defence and safeguard of us all. And as for me, I assure you, this day I will triumph by glorious victory, or suffer death for immortall fame. For they bee contemned, and out of the palace of fame degraded, dying without renowne, which doe not as much preferre and exalt the perpetuall honour of their native Countrey, as their owne mortall and transitory life. Now *Saint George* to borrow, let us set forward, and remember well, that I am he which shall with high advancements, reward and preferre the valiant and hardy Champions, and punish and torment the shamefull cowards and dreadfull dastards.

This

This exhortation encouraged all such as favoured him, but such as were present, more for dread then love, kissed them openly, whom they inwardly hated; others sware outwardly to take part with such, whose death they secretly compassed, and inwardly imagined; others promised to invade the Kings enemies, which fled and fought with fierce courage against the King; others stood still and looked on, intending to take part with the victors and overcommers: So was his people to him unsure and unfaithfull at his end, as he was to his Nephewes untrue and unnaturall in his beginning.

When the Earle of Richmond knew by his fore-riders, that the King was so neere embattailed, hee rode about his Armie, from ranke to ranke, from wing to wing, giving

comfortable words to all men, and that finished (being armed at all peeces, saving his Helmet) mounted on a little hill, so that all his people might see and behold him perfectly, to their great rejoycing : For he was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gifts and lineaments of Nature, that hee seemed more an angelicall creature, then terrestriall personage ; his countenance and aspect was cheerefull and couragious, his haire yellow like burnished Gold, his eyes grey, shining and quick, prompt and ready in answering, but of such sobriety, that it could never be judged, whether he were more dull then quicke in speaking (such was his temperance) And when hee had over-looked his Armie over every side, hee paused a while, and after with a loud voyce and bold spirit, spake

spake to his Companions
these or like the words follow-
ing:

If ever God gave victory to
men fighting in a just quarrell;
Or if he ever aided such as made
warre for the wealth and tuiti-
on of their owne naturall and
nutritive Countrey; Or if hee
ever succoured them which ad-
ventured their lives for the re-
liefe of innocents, suppressing
of malefactors and apparent
offenders; No doubt, my fel-
lowes and friends, but he, of his
bountifull goodnesse, will this
day send us triumphant victo-
ry, and a lucky journey over
our proud enemies, and arro-
gant adversaries: For if you
remember and consider the ve-
ry cause of our just quarre,
you shall apparently perceiue
the same to be true, Godly and
vertuous. In the which I doubt
not but God will rather aide us

(yea and fight for us) then see us vanquished and profligate by such as neither feare him nor his lawes, nor yet regard iustice or honesty. Our cause is so iust that no enterprise can bee of more vertue, both by the lawes divine and civill, for what can be a more honest, goodly, or godly quarrell then to fight against a captaine, being a homicide and murtherer of his owne blood and progeny? An extreme destroyer of his nobilitie, to his and our countrey and the poore subjects of the same, a deadly malle, a firebrand and burden intolerable? besides him, consider who bee of his band and company, such as by murther and untruth committed against their owne kindred and linnage, yea against their Prince and Soveraigne Lord, have disherited mee and you, and hath wrongfully detained
and

and usurpe over lawfull patrimony and lineall inheritance. For he that calleth himself king keepeth from mee the Crowne and regiment of this noble Realme and Countrey, contrary to all iustice and equity. Likewise, his mates and friends occupie your lands, cut downe your woods and destroy your mannors, letting your wives and children range abroad for their living : which persons for their penance and punishment I doubt not but God of his goodnesse will either deliver into our hands as a great gaine and booty, or cause them being grieved and compuncted with the pricke of their corrupt consciences, cowardly to fly and not abide the battell : besides this I assure you that there be yonder in that great battell, men brought thither for feare and not for love, souldiers by

V 5 force

force compelled, and not with good will assembled : persons which desire rather the destruction then the salvation of their master and captaine : and finally a multitude, whereof the most part will bee our friends, and the least part our enemies. For truly I doubt which is greater, the malice of the souldiers towards their captaine, or the feare of him conceived of his people : for surely this rule is infallible, that as ill men daily covet to destroy the good, so God appointeth the good to confound the ill, & of al worldly goods the greatest is, to suppress tyrants, and relieve innocents, whereof the one is ever as much hated as the other is beloved. If this bee true (as Clerkes preach) who will spare yonder tyrant *Richard Duke of Gloucester* untruely calling himselfe King, considering that
hee

hee hath violated, and broken
both the law of God and man,
what vertue is in him which
was the confusion of his bro-
ther, and murtrerer of his ne-
phewes? what mercy is in him
that flieth his trusty friends as-
well as his extreme enemies?
Who can have confidence in
him which putteth diffidence
in all men? If you have not
read, I have heard Clerkes say,
that *Tarquin* the proud for the
vice of the body lost the King-
dome of *Rome*, and the name
of *Tarquin* banished from the
Citie for ever: yet was not his
fault so detestable as the fact of
cruell *Nero*, which slew his
owne-mother, and opened her
entralls to behold the place of
his conception. Behold yonder
Richard, which is both *Tarquin*
and *Nero*, yea a tyrant more
then *Nero*, for he hath not on-
ly murdered his Nephewe
being

being his King and soveraigne Lord, bastarded his noble brethren, and defamed the wombe of his vertuous and womanly mother, but also compassed all the meanes and waies that hee could invent how to stuprate & carnally know neece his under the pretence of a cloaked matrimony, which Lady I have sworne and promised to take and make my wife, as you all know and beleewe. If this cause be not just, and this quarrell godly, let God the giver of victory judge and determine. We have (thanks be given to Christ) escaped the secret treasons in *Britaine*, and avoyded the subtile snares of our fraudulent enemies there, passed the troublous seas in good and quiet safegard, and without resistance have penetrate the ample region and large countrey of *Wales*, and are now come to
the

the place which wee so much desired, for long wee have sought the furious Bore, and now we have found him. Wherefore, let us not feare to enter into the toyle where wee may surely slay him, for God knoweth that wee have lived in the vales of miserie, tossing our shippes in dangerous stormes: let us not now dread to set up our sailes in faire weather, having with us both him and good fortune. If wee had come to conquer *Wales*, and had achieved it, our prayse had beene great, and our gaine more; but if wee winne this battell, the whole Realme of *England*, with the Lords and Rulers of the same shall be ours, the profit shall be ours, and the honour shall be ours. Therefore labour for your gaine, and sweat for your right: while wee were in *Britaine* wee had small livings
and

and little plenty of wealth or welfare, now is the time come to get abundance of riches and copie of profit which is the reward of your service and merit of your paine. And this remember with your selves, that before us be our Enemies, and on either side of us bee such as I neither surely trust, nor greatly beleewe, backward wee cannot fly: So that here wee stand like sheepe in a fold circumspected and compassed betweene our enemies & our doubtfull friends. Therefore let all feare be set aside, and like sworne brethren let us joyne in one, for this day shall bee the end of our travell, and the game of our labour, either by honorable death or famous victory: And as I trust, the battell shall not be so sower as the profit shall bee sweet. Remember that victory is not gotten
with

with multitude of men, but with the courage of hearts and valiantnesse of mindes. The smaller that our number is, the more glorie is to us if wee vanquish, if we be overcome, yet no laud is to bee attributed, to the victors, considering that tenne men fought against one: and if we die so glorious a death in so good a quarrell, neither fretting time, nor cankering oblivion shall bee able to obfuscate or race out of the booke of fame either our names or our godly attempt. And this one thing I assure you, that in so just and good a cause, and so notable a quarrell, you shall find mee this day rather a dead carion upon the coole ground, then a free prisoner on a carpit in a Ladies chamber. Let us therefore fight like invincible gyants, and set on our enemies like untimerous Tigers, and banish

nish all feare like ramping lyons. And advance forward true men against traytors, pittifull persons against murtherers, true inheritours against usurpers, the scourges of God against tyrants, display my banner with a good courage, march forth like strong & robustious champions, and begin the battell like hardy conquerors, the battell is at hand, and the victorie approacheth, and if we shamefully recoile or cowardly fly, wee and a'll our sequell be destroyed and dishonored for ever. This is the day of gaine, and this is the time of losse, get this day victorie and bee conquerors, and leese this daies battell and bee villaines, and therefore in the name of God let every man courageously advance forth with his standard.

These chearefull words hee set forth with such gesture of
body

body & smiling countenance, as though already hee had vanquished his enemies and gotten the spoyle.

Hee had scantly finished his saying, but the one armie espied the other: Lord how hastily the souldiers buckled their helmes, how quickly the archers bent their bowes and frushed their feathers, how readily the billmen shooke their billes and prooved their staves, ready to approach and joyn, when the terrible trumpet shall sound the bloody blast to victorie or death. Betweene both armies there was a great marsh which the Earle of *Richmond* left on his right hand for this intent, that it should be on that side a defence for his part, and in so doing he had the sunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enemies.

When King *Richard* saw the
Earles

Earles company was passed the marsh, hee commanded with all hast to set upon them, then the Trumpeters blew, and souldiers shouted, and the Kings archers couragiously let fly their arrowes; the Earles bowmen stood not still, but paide them home againe. The terrible shot once past, the armies joyned, and came to hand strokes, where neither sword nor bill was spared, at which encounter the Lord *Stanley* joyned with the Earle. The Earle of *Oxford* in the meane season fearing lest while his company was fighting, they should bee compassed and circumvented with the multitude of his enemies, gave commandement in every ranke that no man should be so hardy as to goe above tenne foot from the standard, which commandement once knowne, they knit themselves together, and ceased

a little from fighting: the adversaries suddenly abashed at the matter, & mistrusting some fraud or deceit, beganne also to pause, and left striking, and not against the will. of many which had rather have had the King destroyed then saved, and therefore they fought very faintly or stood still. The Earle of *Oxford* bringing all his band together on the one part, set on his enemies afresh; againe, the adversaries perceiving that, placed their men slender and thinne before, and thicke and broade behind, beginning againe hardly the battell. While the two forwards thus mortally fought, each intending to vanquish and convince the other, King *Richard* was admonished by his explorators and espialles, that the Earle of *Richmond* accompanied small with a number of men of armes was not far off, and as he
appro-

approched & marched towards him, he perfectly knew his personage by certaine demonstrations and tokens which hee had learned and knowne of others. And being inflamed with ire, and vexed with outrageous malice, he put his spurres to his horse, and rode out of the side of the range of his Battaile, leaving the avantguards fighting, and like a hungry Lion ran with Speare and rest toward him. The Earle of *Richmond* perceived well the King furiously came toward him, and because the whole hope of his wealth and purpose was to bee determined by Battaile, hee gladly proffered to encounter with him body to body, and man to man.

King *Richard* set on so sharply at the first brunt, that he overthrew the Earles Standard, and slew Sir *William Brandon*
his

his Standard Bearer: (which was Father to Sir Charles Brandon, by King Henry the 8. created Duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand with Sir John Cheyny, a man of great force and strength which would have resisted him, and the said John was by him manfully overthrowne, and so he making open passage by dent of sword as hee went forward, the Earle of Richmond withstood his violence, and kept him at the swords point without advantage, longer then his companions either thought or judged, which being almost in despaire of Victory, were suddenly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, which came to succour them with three thousand tall men, at which very instant King Richards men were driven back and fled, and hee himselve manfully fighting in the middle

dle of his enemies, was slaine & brought to his death as hee worthily had deserved.

In the mean season the Earle of *Oxford*, with the aide of the Lord *Stanley*, after no long fight discomfited the forward of King *Richard*, whereof a great number were slaine in the flight, but the greatest number which (compelled by feare of the King, and not of their meer valiant motion) came to the field, gave never a stroke, and having no harme nor damage, safely departed, which came not thither in hope to see the King prosper and prevaile, but to hear that he should be shamefully confounded and brought to ruine.

In this Battaille dyed few above the number of a thousand persons: And of the Nobilitie were slaine *John Duke of Norfolk*, which was warned by
divers

divers to refraine the Field, in-
somuch that the night before
hee should set forward toward
the King, one wrote on his
Gate :

*Jack of Norfolk
be not too bold,
For Dickon thy Master
is bought and sold.*

Yet all this notwithstanding, hee regarding more his
oath, his honour and promise
made to King Richard, like a
Gentleman and a faithfull sub-
ject to his Prince, absented not
himselfe from his Master, but
as hee faithfully lived under
him, so hee manfully dyed
with him, to his great fame
and laud. There were slaine
beside him *Walter Lord Ferrers*
of *Chartley*, *Sir Richard Rad-*
cliffe, and *Robert Brakenbury*
Lieutenant of the Tower, and
not many Gentlemen more.

Sir

Sir *William Catesbey* learned in the Lawes of the Realme, and one of the chiefe Counsellors to the late King, with divers others, were two dayes after beheaded at *Leicester*. Amongst them that ranne away, were Sir *Francis Vicount Lovell*, and *Humfrey Stafford*, and *Thomas Stafford* his Brother, which took Sanctuary at Saint *Iohns at Gloucester*. Of Captives and prisoners there was a great number, for after the death of King *Richard* was knowne and published, every man in manner vnarming himselfe, and casting away his habiliment of warre, meekly submitted themselves to the obedience and rule of the Earle of *Richmond*: of the which the more part had gladly so done in the beginning, if they might have conveniently escaped from King *Richards* espyals, which
having

having as cleare eyes as *Chib*
and as open eares as *Midas*
ranged and searched in every
quartern. Amongst these was
Henry the fourth Earle of North-
umberland, which whether it
was by the commandement of
King *Richard* putting diffidence
in him, or he did it for the love
and favour that hee bare unto
the Earle, stood still with a great
companie and intermitted not
in the battell; which was in-
continently received into fa-
vour and made of the counsell.
But *Thomas Howard Earle of*
Surrey which submitted him-
selfe there, was not taken to
grace, because his Father was
chiefe Counseller, and hee
ly familiar with King
Richard. but committed to the
Tower of *London*, where he
long remained, and in conclu-
sion delivered, and for his
truth and fidelitie after promo-

ted to high honours and dignities. On the Earle of *Richmonds* part were slaine scarce one hundred persons, amongst whom the principall was sir *William Brandon* his standard bearer.

This battell was fought at at *Bosworth* in *Leicestershire*, the two and twentieth day of *August*, in the yeare one thousand foure hundred eighty sixe; the whole conflict endured litle above two houres. King *Richard*, as the same went, might have escaped and gotten safegard by flying. For when they which were next about his person saw and perceived at the first joyning of the battell, the souldiers faintly and nothing couragiously to set on their enemies, and not onely that, but also that some with drew themselves privily out of the prease and departed;

but

X

They

They beganne to suspect fraud, and smell treason, and not only exhorted, but determinately advised him to save himselfe by flight: and when the losse of the battell was eminent and apparent, they brought to him a swift and a light horse to convey him away. He which was not ignorant of the grudge and ill will that the common people bare towards him, casting away all hope of fortunate successe and happie chance to come, answered (as men say) hee would make an end of all battailes, or else there finish his life. Such a great audacitie and such a stout stomacke raigned in his body; for surely he knew that to be the day in the which it should bee decided and determined, whether hee should peaceably obtaine and enjoy his kingdome during his life, or else utterly forgoe and bee

deprived of the same, with which too much hardnesse hee being overcome, hastily closed his helmet, and entered fiercely into the hard battell, to the intent to obtaine that day a quiet raigne, or else to finish there his unquiet life and unfortunate governance. And so this miser at the same very point had like chance and fortune, as happeneth to such which in place of right justice, and honesty following their sensuall appetite, love, use, and embrace mischief, tyranny, and unchristianesse. Surely these be examples of more vehemency then mans tongue can expresse, to feare and asunne such evil persons as will not live one houre vacant from doing and exercising crueltie, mischief or outragious living.

When the Earle had thus obtained victorie, and slaine
his

his mortall enemye, hee kneeled
downe and, rendered to al-
mighty God his hartly thanks
with devout and godly orisons,
beseeching his goodnesse to
send him grace to aduance and
defend the catholike faith, and
to maintaine iustice and con-
cord amongst his subiects and
people, by God now to his go-
uernance committed and assign-
ed: which prayer finished, he
replenished with incomparable
gladnesse, ascended up to the
top of a little mountaine, where
he not onely praysed and lau-
ded his valiant souldiers, but
also gave unto them his hartly
thanks, with promise of con-
digne recompence for their fi-
delitie and valiant facts, willing
and commanding all the hurt
and wounded persons to bee
cured, and the dead carcases to
bee delivered to the Sepul-
ture.

blow

X 3

Then

Then the people rejoyced and clapped hands, crying up to heaven, King *Henry*, King *Henry*. When the Lord *Stanley* saw the good will and gratuity of the people hee tooke the Crowne of King *Richard* which was found amongst the spoyle in the field, and set it on the Earles head, as though hee had bene elected King by the voice of the people as in ancient times past in divers Realmes it hath bene accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicitie. I must put you here in remembrance, how that King *Richard* putting some diffidence in the Lord *Stanley*, which had with him as an hostage, the Lord *Strange* his eldest sonne, which Lord *Stanley* as you have heard before joyned not at the first with his sonne in lawes army, for feare that King *Richard* would

would have slaine the Lord Strange his heire. When King Richard was come to Bosworth, he sent a pursevant to the Lord Stanley, commianding him to advance forward with his company, and to come to his presence; which thing if hee refused to doe, he swore by Christs passion that hee would strike off his sonnes head before hee dined.

The Lord Stanley answered the Pursevant, that if the King did so, hee had more sons alive; and to come to him he was not then so determined: when King Richard heard this answer, hee commanded the Lord Strange incontinent to bee beheaded, which was at that very same season when both the armies had fight each of the other. The Councillors of King Richard pondering the time and the cause, knowing also the Lord

Strange to be innocent of his fathers offence, perswaded the King that it was now time to fight, and not time to execution, advising him to keepe the Lord *Strange* as a prisoner till the battell was ended, and then at leisure his pleasure might bee accomplished. So as God would King *Richard* infringed his holy oath, and the Lord was delivered to the keepers of the Kings tent to bee kept as a prisoner, which when the field was done, and their master slaine, and proclamation made to know where the child was, they submitted themselves as prisoners to the Lord *Strange*, and hee gently received them and brought them to the new proclaimed King, where of him and of his father hee was received with great joy and gladnesse.

After this the whole campe
remo-

removed with bag and baggage, and the same night in the evening King Henry with great pompe came to the towne of *Leicester*. Where as well for the refreshing of his people and souldiers, as for preparing all things necessary for his journey toward *London*, hee rested and reposed himselfe two dayes. In the meane season the dead corps of King *Richard* was as shamefully carried to the towne of *Leicester*, as hee gorgeously the day before with pompe and pride departed out of the same towne. For his body was naked and despoyled to the skin, and nothing left about him, not so much as a clout to cover his privie members, and was trusted behind a pursevante of armes called *Blanche Senglier* or white Boare, like a hogge or a calfe, the head and armes hanging on the one side of the horse, and

and the legges on the other side, and all be sprinkled with mire and blood, was brought to the Gray Fryers Church within the towne, and there laid like a miserable spectacle: but surely considering his mischievous acts and Facinorous doings, men may worthily wonder at such a caitive, and in the said Church hee was with no lesse funerall pompe and solemnitie interred, then hee would to bee done at the burying of his innocent Nephewes, whom hee caused cruelly to bee murdered and unnaturally to be quelled.

When his death was known, few lamented, and many rejoiced, the proud bragging white Boare (which was his badge) was violently rased and plucked downe from every signe and place where it might be espied,

fo

so ill was his life that men wished the memorie of him to bee buried with his carren corpes : Hee raigned two yeares, two moneths, and one day.

As he was small and little of stature, so was he of body greatly deformed, the one shoulder higher then the other, his face small, but his countenance was cruell, and such, that a man at the first aspect would judge it to savour and smell of malice, fraude, and deceit : when hee stood musing hee would bite and chew beassly his nether lippe, as who said, that his fierce nature in his cruell body alwaies chafed, stirred, and was ever unquiet : besides that, the dagger that hee wore, hee would when hee studied with his hand plucke up and downe in the sheath to the midst, never drawing it fully out; his wit

wit was pregnant, quicke and ready, wile to flegne and apt to dissemble, hee had a proud minde, and an arrogant stomacke, the which accompanied him to his death, which hee rather desiring to suffer by dem offword, then being forsaken and destitute of his untrue companions, would by coward flight preserve and save his uncertaine life: Which by malice, sicknesse, or condigne punishment might chance shortly after to come to confusion.

Thus ended this Prince his mortall life with infamie and dishonour, which never preferred fame or honesty before ambition, tyranny, and mischief. And if hee had continued still Protector, and suffered his Nephewes to have lived and raigned, no doubt but the Realme had prospered, and

and hee much prayſed and be-
loved as hee is now abhorred
and vilipended, but to God
which knew his interior cogita-
tions at the hower of his death

I commit the puniſhment
of his offences com-
mitted in his
life.

FINIS.